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THE Nation

December 10, 1949

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By Dr. Edward U. Condon
The chief of the National Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce fights for intellectual freedom for scientists and administers a stinging rebuke to those who would handicap our laboratory pioneers with security regulations and loyalty oaths.

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A Symposium Edited by Leonard Engel
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An exclusive dispatch from the Middle East.

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 169 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 10, 1949 NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

OPPOSITION TO FRANCO, FOR THE FIRST time since his seizure of power, has gone to the extreme of public demonstration and strikes, with hungry Spaniards marching through the streets of Madrid and shouting for food and better wages. The impression created abroad has been the stronger because the marchers were not industrial workers but bank clerks, seldom given to violent forms of protest. As a consequence, the authorities were embarrassed to the point of feeling obliged to issue an announcement pretending that the demonstration had been organized by the Falange. But nobody inside or outside Spain was deceived. The Madrid hunger march was a well-organized protest carried out on the initiative of the bank employees and in unequivocal defiance of the government and the Falange. Less sensational but hardly less significant are the student strikes, still spreading at this moment. A totalitarian regime tends to look solid and unbreakable until the moment when it begins to fall to pieces, but even the impression of strength has been vanishing fast from the Spanish scene. Several recent series of articles in newspapers of very different political complexion have reported the regime in an advanced stage of internal decomposition, maintained only by police action and by rumors of foreign loans. *Reynolds News* in England, the New York *Post-Home News* through the interesting dispatches of Seymour Freidin, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *National Zeitung* of Basle, the *Franc-Tireur* of Paris, now vigorously anti-Communist—all have arrived at the same conclusion: Franco's last remaining hope is in the peripatetic American Senators and Congressmen who visit Spain and then go home to advocate support for the Spanish dictator. It is time for President Truman or Secretary Acheson to repudiate this irresponsible agitation, whose only effect is to compromise the position of the Administration in the eyes of democrats everywhere.

*

IN RESORTING AGAIN TO THE THREE-DAY work week for his miners, John L. Lewis has admitted a defeat, but he is retreating in good order to what the war communiqués used to call a "previously prepared position." For three weeks in November his men worked without a contract as "an act of good faith designed to contribute to the public convenience"—and, far from incidentally, to give Lewis a chance to probe for soft spots in the front presented by the mine operators. When he found no such spot, he appeared to face a choice between surrender and a prolonged and bitter struggle. If he yielded, he would probably have been through as a first-class power in the labor movement. If he had ordered a protracted strike, he would have forced the President in time to invoke the hated Taft-Hartley act. In either case trade unions as a whole would have suffered their worst setback in a decade, for the smashing of the United Mine Workers would have reawakened the hopes of every anti-union industrialist in the land. So it is that in spite of his high-handed methods, his arbitrary use of power, and his plain cussedness, labor in general will be glad that the wily Lewis has slipped out of a tight spot. The three-day week will provide enough coal to preclude emergency action by the government and still give the miners' chief a bargaining instrument in his attempts to deal with the operators on an individual basis. As fast as they sign up they will get a five-day production schedule. At the same time, the miners themselves, restive over having lost eighty days this year in response to Mr. Lewis's signals, will be assured an income during the pre-holiday season. All in all, the lone wolf of labor has made the best of an ugly situation created in part by his own recklessness.

*

POWERFUL IMPETUS TO A MORE RAPID settlement of outstanding Palestine problems has been given by the United Nations through its action on Arab refugees and developments on the Jerusalem question. This progress is due to the fact that for the first time the focus of big-power maneuvers is not Israeli concessions to the Arab states but Arab concessions to reality. The $54,000,000 voted without dissent is more than a relief and work program for needy Arabs. The reference to "Palestine" refugees in the title of the new agency and the reiteration of the right of Arabs to return to their former homes, both at the insistence of the Arab states, are face-saving devices. By agreeing to permit the program to be conducted in their territories

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the Arab states have opened the door to permanent resettlement of the refugees. This the Arab states know very well. To be sure, the works program will benefit these states, but a year ago that would have been an insufficient inducement. Their sudden acquiescence means only that stubbornness is no longer being encouraged. The United States and Britain have discovered that a final peace settlement is desirable and that Israel cannot be blackmailed into endangering its own existence.

*

THIS PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION THAT THEY have lost the war is a bitter pill for the Arabs to swallow. It accounts for the violence of their effort to win a victory on Jerusalem. But here, too, they are doomed to defeat. There is no possibility that the General Assembly will vote for the complete internationalization of the Jerusalem area. The reasons are several: first, most of the delegates realize that the opposition of Israel and Jordan makes implementation impossible; second, there is a growing understanding that the Holy Places can be protected and freedom of access assured without internationalizing the city and its people; third, internationalization in the 1947 sense is opposed by the United States. A new rallying point has been provided by the resolution introduced by Sweden and the Netherlands. Based on the international-curatorship concept, this resolution deals solely with United Nations supervision of the Holy Places. As we go to press, the Swedish-Dutch proposal appears to have a good chance of being adopted. Should it fail, no other plan will win the necessary two-thirds' majority. This would mean that Israel and Jordan would continue their present control, ruling out any future international supervision not agreed to by both countries.

*

WHAT THE COUNTRY NEEDS RIGHT NOW, according to a Long Island University law instructor, is annuities for cats. All too often, Milton Fisher told a group of cat lovers last week, an owner dies and "the cat is left out in the cold," dependent on the dictates of a Surrogate's Court that may be utterly deficient in its appreciation of feline requirements. We do not share the view of James F. Byrnes that "too many people [not to say too many cats] are thinking of security instead of opportunity," but we do feel that pensions for cats pushes the welfare principle pretty far. Moreover, the system would introduce a marked injustice. The cat in the street, the common cat whose century this is supposed to be, would either have to buy its insurance, with funds acquired by selling mice to the new rentier class, or it would have to rely on an improbable expansion of federal social security. But the worst aspect of the Fisher plan is the effect

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it would have on character, if we may say so without sounding too much like a news release from the Republican National Committee. Could anything be more offensively smug than a cat with an independent income?

*

IT IS ONLY HUMAN FOR BRITISH TORIES TO hail the victory last week of the Nationalists in New Zealand as a promising omen for their own success in next year's general election. But if this most British of the dominions is indeed the bellwether of the Commonwealth, its experience equally suggests that many years may elapse before voters of the mother country follow its swerve to the right. For the New Zealand Labor Party won a sweeping victory as long ago as 1935 and since then has come back at three successive general elections, though with progressively smaller majorities. That after so extended a term of office the tide should have turned against it is scarcely surprising. What is noteworthy is that it has solidly established a "mixed economy" in New Zealand and forced its conservative opponents to accept a large part of its program. The Nationalists, in fact, won a "me-too" campaign. New Zealand, therefore, is likely to remain one of the most advanced of all welfare states. It has always been a leader in this respect, being the first country in the world to introduce old-age pensions. A decade later, in 1908, Britain followed its example. The Labor regime of the past fourteen years has strengthened and expanded social security and nationalized some additional industries—basic utilities and services had long been publicly owned. The country has been prosperous, enjoying full employment and a high standard of living. But it has had its share of post-war economic difficulties, and the government has had to bear the blame for high taxes and some unpopular restrictions. The Nationalists have promised to reduce taxes and controls and promote free enterprise, while maintaining social-security benefits and wages. Conservatives in many lands, including our own, will no doubt observe with anxious interest their success in performing this trick.

*

ATOMIC ENERGY'S PROMISE OF AN ERA OF constructive scientific accomplishment is slowly taking on substance. New processes based on radioactive materials produced in the Atomic Energy Commission's "nuclear ovens" are beginning to appear in textiles, petroleum-refining, and several other industries. And last week the AEC announced that blueprints have been completed for a pile to "breed" atomic fuel. The "breeder" occupies a critical place in the complicated technology which is to bring atomic power. It will convert Uranium 238 and thorium into fissionable materials capable of serving as atomic fuel. Without breeding, we would have only the single naturally occurring fissionable material, Uranium 235, which forms only 1/140 of natural uranium, the remainder being non-fissionable U-238; atomic energy, consequently, would hardly be a practical proposition. Well-informed scientists have been confident right along that breeding was practical and had no fears concerning the availability of atomic fuel, since plutonium has been made for five years by a closely similar process. Nevertheless, it is impressive to see the first breeder pile, which was designed by the AEC's Argonne Laboratory and will be erected at the new atomic-test station in Idaho, advance toward actual construction. Vigorous development of constructive uses for the atom is, in the last analysis, the best antidote to overemphasis of its military role. The world could do with more news like the development of the breeder, and with less like the announcement, the next day, of a new series of atom-bomb tests at the Eniwetok proving ground.

Soviet Tactics and Soviet Fears

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE best authorities on Soviet intentions agree that Russia wants to avoid war, is genuinely fearful of encirclement and ultimate attack from the West, and counts upon the predicted collapse of Western capitalism to open the way for Communist revolution throughout the world. Meantime it will try to expose the "imperialist, militarist" policies of the West, led by America, line up the "progressive" elements in all countries behind its own "peace" program, solidify the Soviet bloc or punish defections therefrom—and prepare for war, if war should come. (The quotes are not Stalin's.) Translated into action this short-range program entails some behavior that may, from a short-range Western view, look more provocative than pacific. But that is a question of strategy and does not destroy the validity of the assumption that Russia wants to prevent a shooting or in more modern lingo a nuclear-explosive war. For Russia may believe it must take the risk of provoking the West to stronger measures in order to expose and attack what it regards as a basically aggressive policy obscured behind protestations of peaceful desires. It may believe that only by doing this can it arouse and mobilize the foreign progressives to whom it looks for support, as well as its own population, which must bend to the stern dictates of a war economy. If Russia does accept these postulates—however preposterous they may appear to most Americans—then the conduct of the Soviet delegates at Lake

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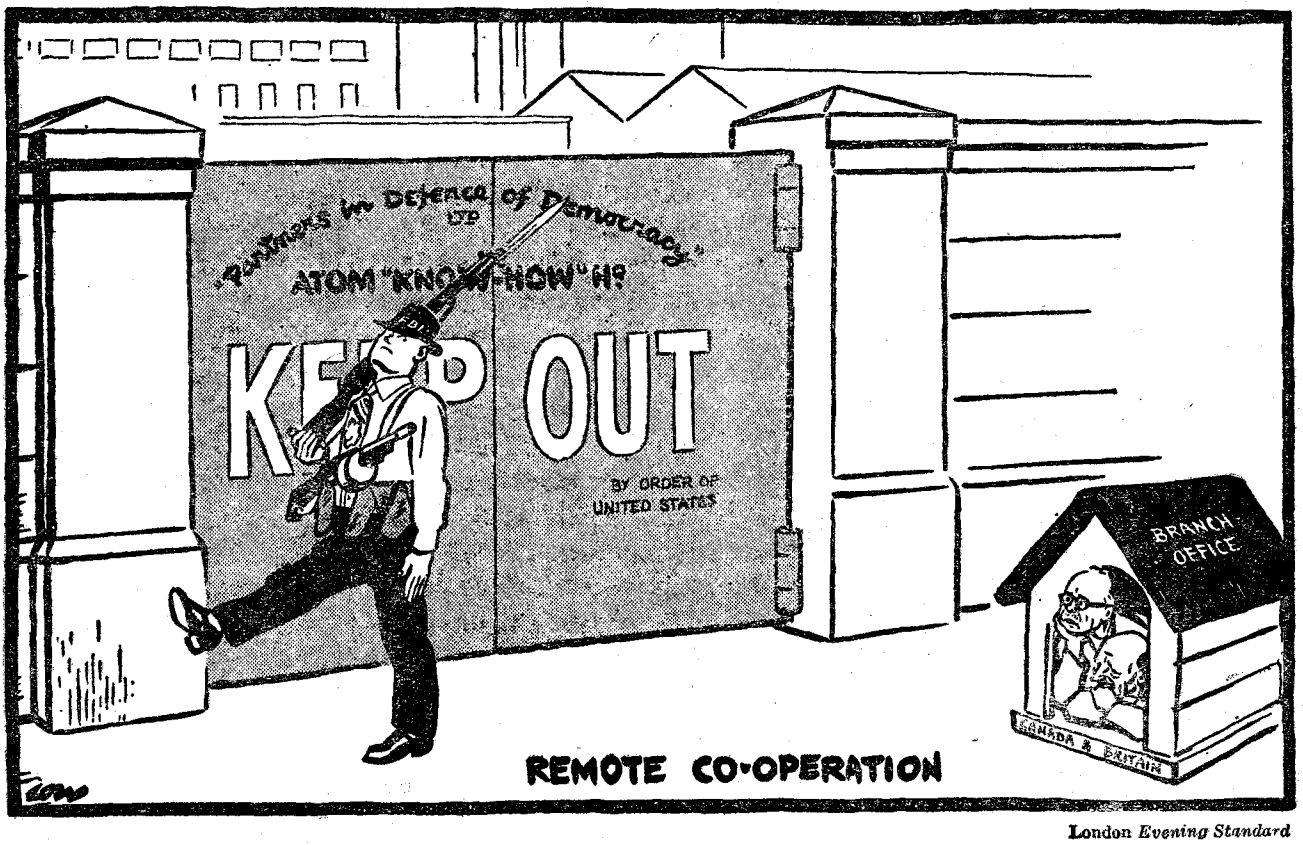
Success, as of Russian officials and agents and Soviet sympathizers throughout the world, becomes intelligible.

It does not, however, become intelligent. In fact, the course of recent events in the United Nations, as well as in Europe, proves how stupid and ill-conceived it is. For Moscow has managed to alienate many persons who in the past have strained their emotions and their credulity to the limit in an effort to believe the whole Soviet case, and has, in fact, weakened that case even where it was strong.

Its initial "peace" move in the U. N. Assembly—a sensible enough proposal for a Big Five pact to insure the peace—opened with a rousing denunciation of the United States and Britain as warmongers. Mr. Vishinsky may believe them to be warmongers; doubtless he does. But if he had intended the resolution as a serious effort to end the schisms among the wartime Allies, he would have concealed his views long enough to permit the resolution to be debated on its merits. One must assume that he intended it, rather, as a demonstration to the world of Russia's peaceable desires, in contrast to the warlike attitude of the Western powers. But even this lesser aim could have been achieved only if the resolution had *looked* like the real thing. To be an effective demonstration, it should have been so phrased that the warmongers would have had to reject an apparently serious proposal, not a rider attached to an insult. When they voted it down, by the conventional fifty-three to five, the U. S. S. R. had proved nothing. It might, by other means, have put the West on an uncomfortable spot. For one need not swallow the Moscow postulates to agree that Washington and Whitehall pursue many policies that conflict sharply with their own successful counter-resolution calling on member nations to rededicate themselves to the principles laid down in the Charter.

The same tactics spoiled the effect of Mr. Vishinsky's presentation of Russia's position on atomic control. At no time did he argue his case like a man who is trying to win it. Russia has a case, or a partial one. Vishinsky squandered it in an attempt to score points off his opponents. His last fairly detailed explanation of the Russian plan for international inspection of atomic installations and the degree of control it would permit was spiked with attacks on the motives of America and a contemptuous rejection of the delegation of Nationalist China. This last item, though no more than a parenthesis, was inevitably seized upon and played up in the press to the virtual exclusion of the solid substance of the talk. If this was unfair, one can only say that Mr. Vishinsky provided an almost irresistible opportunity for unfairness.

But the most striking example of Russia's strategic ineptness was the triple-barreled pronunciamiento issued in Moscow last week. Here in a single package the Cominform presented the world with a demand for (1) the consolidation and extension of a peace movement directed against the Anglo-American bloc and "its policy of preparing a new war," (2) the enlistment in this movement of all labor and democratic groups inter-



London *Evening Standard*

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ested in defending peace, and (3) the unleashing of a struggle in which political, economic, and "other measures," should be combined to overthrow Marshal Tito and his clique of reactionaries, traitors, spies, and lackeys of the American imperialists. Speaking in the Assembly, Ambassador Kosanovich remarked that Yugoslavia saw in the attitude of the Cominform "a danger for the peace and independence of small countries." One need not exaggerate its importance as a threat of war—nor did the Yugoslav Ambassador do so—but it is a little difficult to regard the Cominform blast as a promising move toward peace. If the Russians seriously hope to pull together another popular front to oppose the "imperialist anti-democratic camp headed by the ruling circles of the United States," then they should be warned that they are going about it the wrong way. Only a Stalinist of unquestioning orthodoxy would join a movement which asked its followers, first, to attack their own government with the venom of a Vishinsky, and, second, to promote peace by liquidating a government whose sin was to assert its independence of Moscow.

What such a statement really proclaims is Moscow's angry recognition that the Tito rebellion threatens the whole hierarchical structure of party and state in Eastern Europe. For Russia to smash this rebellion by war would presumably be easy. But war against Tito would not only invite the danger of general war; it would also create a state of total demoralization in the "family of Socialist states." Tito must be discredited as a traitor to communism; overthrown if possible from within; if that is impossible, crushed by boycott and blockade; if that fails, attacked by saboteurs and guerrilla raids and pilloried by "democratic, peace-loving people" the world over as an agent of the "warmongers." Meanwhile every Communist leader who shows signs of supporting Tito's rebellion, or of harboring rebellious inclinations of his own, must be put out of the way. The intensity of the purge in the other Eastern countries, and in Communist parties elsewhere, is in direct proportion to the successful resistance of the Yugoslavs as well as to Russia's fears of Western encirclement.

It is one thing, however, to carry through this ruthless program as part of a drive to maintain Russian dominance in the Eastern bloc or in the Communist movement. It is another to incorporate it in a "peace" campaign for which Moscow hopes to win popular support. No single aspect of Soviet policy has caused such soul-searching among fellow-travelers or such sharp divisions within the various Communist parties themselves as the attack on Yugoslavia. As for the miscellaneous labor and liberal groups to whom the latest Cominform statement appeals, they are least of all likely, in the name of peace, to join a crusade against the one Communist government which has adopted an independent position at the hazard of its very existence.

The Great Kickback

PSYCHIATRISTS could have a field-day with J. Parnell Thomas. So much of the man's political activity has been a reflection of his own guilt. Here was the fierce patriot, dedicated to eliminating conspirators against the government. As he described himself only a year ago, he was "one who stood up against the enemies of this country and did not cower before them." And all the time he was himself engaged in a shabby little conspiracy to pilfer funds from the public treasury. Here was a man whose Committee on Un-American Activities made much of every little variant in the names of witnesses brought before it. Was he subconsciously concerned over his own change from Feeney to Thomas? (He kept the "Parnell" for the Irish vote.) Here, too, was the implacable prosecutor heaping scorn and abuse on those who refused to answer questions on the ground that their testimony might be self-incriminating. Yet when his own thievery caught up with him, he took this selfsame course before the grand jury.

Not one slippery trick went untried by this "protector" of the American way of life. When the Department of Justice first brought the charge that he had padded his pay roll with people whose only work was to "kick back" their salaries to the Congressman, he was the spirit of outraged innocence. The accusation was "despicable and revolting," "cheap Pendergast politics," a pre-election maneuver to take the Administration off the spot for its "failure to do its duty" in crushing Communists. All he asked was his day in court, but he wanted that day to be put off until after the elections for the sake of clean politics. His request was allowed; and, insisting that the charges were "baseless" and a "vicious smear," that he would clear himself in court, he was reelected. In due course he went before the grand jury, refused to talk, was indicted, and launched a series of delaying maneuvers that saved him for a year.

Brought finally to trial last week, Thomas soon perceived the difference between the judicial process and the workings of his own committee. Here were no klieg lights, no flag-waving rhetoric, and no press releases from the bench; only legitimate evidence and documentary proof. Unused to such outlandish procedure, Torquemada collapsed and threw himself on the mercy of the court.

If there is any moral to be drawn from the fate of J. Parnell Thomas it is that patrioteering—not "patriotism," as Samuel Johnson had it—"is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

The Second Hiss Trial
By Robert Bendiner
Coming Soon in *The Nation*

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Colonialism Under Fire

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, December 3

WORK in the General Assembly was speeded up last week after the closing date was put forward from the fifteenth to the tenth. The principal problem before this session of the United Nations, the control of atomic energy, has not been solved, nor, so far as the record shows, has the gulf between East and West been narrowed. Something might have been accomplished, but I will wait until my final report on the Assembly to indicate along what lines the attempt could and should have been made.

On the other hand, a positive gain can be reported in another important field: colonialism has been dealt a blow from which it will find it hard to recover. Hector McNeil, the youthful British Minister of State, vainly invoked reasons of high policy to block an investigation of conditions among the 200,000,000 people living in dependent countries. A question of such magnitude could not be suppressed. In the debate that followed, Shiva Rao, the distinguished Indian delegate, effectively rebuked the British minister for saying that the countries which insisted on having the principles of the United Nations respected by all its members were actuated by "emotion and envy." Against the vigorous opposition of Great Britain and France the resolution calling for reports on the political development of colonial areas was overwhelmingly adopted.

The rising tide of anti-colonialism which has been evidenced in this Assembly on various occasions was given its first impetus by a work published in the eighteenth century, the Abbé Reynal's famous "Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes." During the nineteenth century it manifested itself in movements against the oppressive treatment of colonies. European socialism adopted opposition to colonialism as a classic tenet when Jules Guesdé, one of the founders of the French Socialist Party, denounced French policy in Tunis and when Jean Jaurès condemned the exploitation of the native inhabitants of Morocco. Mr. McNeil, though a Labor minister, is apparently unacquainted with this Socialist tradition.

Less surprising was the attitude of the South African delegation. Three times in the past three years South Africa has ignored the recommendation of the General Assembly that it submit a trusteeship plan for Southwest Africa, the former German colony which it has governed under a League of Nations mandate since 1920. Last week when the subject came up, its delegation abruptly walked out of the fifty-nine-member Trusteeship Committee. This occasioned little surprise because Daniel Malan, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, is a known pro-Nazi. He and his party sided with the Nazis during the war.

But the performance of the South African delegate, the Union's ambassador to Washington, G. P. Jooste, went even beyond what one has grown to expect. His Excellency could not tolerate the appearance before the Trusteeship Committee of the Reverend Michael Scott, a clergyman from Johannesburg, who spoke for an hour and a quarter, most impressively, on the plight of the blacks of Southwest Africa. Other delegations found it as difficult to tolerate the conduct of the only member state which refused to fulfil the trusteeship obligations imposed by the Charter.

Article 80 of the Charter could not be more explicit on this question. It declares that no previous provision "shall be interpreted as giving grounds for the delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77." The government of the Union of South Africa, however, has found one pretext for delay after another. On the same day that the Ambassador walked out because a U. N. resolution asked his country to comply with the decision of the Assembly, Prime Minister Malan in Pretoria arrogantly challenged the "interference mania" of the United Nations.

The delegate of South Africa professes interest in "legal," not "moral," obligations. At the same time, his government has violated the law of the United Nations, and should be brought to account for this by the World Court, to which the Trusteeship Committee now proposes to refer the question of Southwest Africa.

Mr. Scott was deputized by a number of native chieftains of Southwest Africa to present their case to the U. N. His report was so damaging to the Union government that it was easy to see why Ambassador Jooste did everything possible to prevent him from being heard. He first refuted the government's contention that a majority of the inhabitants of that area favor its incorporation in the Union. The government, he said, has no way of knowing what the people want. It has deprived them of the right of petition which they enjoyed under the mandate of the League and denied the natives representation in the Southwest African legislature and in the Parliament at Cape Town. He then described how shockingly the natives have been treated. Their land has been taken away from them and given to Europeans, the old German settlers or their descendants, and as workers they have been unscrupulously exploited.

The question is not so much a legal as a racial one, and the United Nations, for all its faults, does not recognize racial discrimination. The U. N., moreover, is much less predominantly European than was the old League; nations which have recently won their independence in other parts of the world are playing an increasingly important part in its deliberations, and their is a living, dramatic voice against the colonial order. The tremendous quickening of the masses throughout Asia today—and throughout Africa tomorrow—which is the transcendent fact of this century, has doomed colonialism.

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POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

Crusade for Moderate Negation

THE juices of history now seem to be working on our two major parties. A definitive realignment is still nowhere in sight, but developments point more and more to that eventual division between liberal and conservative which has always been the hope of political theorists and the dread of vote-catching politicians. A striking indication is the emergence of James F. Byrnes as spokesman for the "anti-statists." Another is the increasing talk, publicly echoed by Raymond Moley and Arthur Krock, of a national extra-party group to serve the right much as Americans for Democratic Action now serves the left.

Republican failure, this year and last, and the dismal fiasco of the Dixiecrats have apparently convinced moderate conservatives that a new approach is necessary if the so-called "welfare state" is to be headed off. A Congressional coalition is effective up to a point, but it is a tentative and unreliable dalliance at best, and at worst it offers a program of legislative paralysis which is meat and drink to the opposition, as Mr. Truman last year so eloquently demonstrated. On the other hand, a full-blown marriage between the G. O. P. and the Dixiecrats is unthinkable. The union would enjoy little more strength in the South than the Dixiecrats can now muster on their own, and it would kill the Republican Party in the North for all time.

The only line left open, then, is for the G. O. P. to develop a broad working partnership with conservative Democrats, North and South, on the basis of some high-sounding issue of policy like "statism." The delicate question of race relations must be avoided like the plague, and so must any suggestion of a tie with the lunatic fringe of the right. This is a job for "statesmen," and it cannot be done by the Brickers of the North or the Rankins of the South. So it is that the keynote is struck by a man like Byrnes, no woolhat from the Okefenokee Swamp but a respected figure in the Democratic Party—once Roosevelt's whip in the Senate, a Supreme Court Justice, a top war-time administrator, and Truman's first choice for Secretary of State. So it is, too, that the advocates of an "A. D. A. on the right" lay such stress on the need to steer clear of the fanatics. The organization "would have to exercise great care in excluding from its leadership crackpots and extremists of the right," warns Dr. Moley in *Newsweek*. And Mr. Krock urges "a national chairman who is known and respected throughout the country, and an executive director of ability at least equal to those who manage the P. A. C. and the A. D. A."

According to Moley, "the idea of such a league has been seriously considered recently in certain quarters, and a great deal of thought is being given to the ways and means of organizing it." If it should come to fruition, it would not be a political party, but at once a link between the conservatives of both major parties and a catalyst for the development of tory policies. Deserving individuals on both tickets would be supported, and a continued propaganda campaign waged to spare us the horrors of the welfare state. More daring if less realistic minds even speculate fondly on the chances of an Eisenhower-Byrnes ticket to cement the alliance.

The difficulty which these hopeful conservatives overlook is that moderation is hard enough to sell politically even when it has something positive to offer. It should be still harder to promote a crusade on the basis of moderate negation. Mr. Byrnes's widely publicized speech at Biloxi was a magnificent example of this appeal through emptiness. One can admit that he spoke the truth when he said he had "never known a department or agency of the United States government that did not ask for more money than it needed." One can entertain perfectly real fears of the danger of "big government." It is even possible, as he said, that "too many people are thinking of security instead of opportunity." Yet generally his remarks were disingenuous and his counsel hollow.

Forgetting entirely his days as a New Deal whip, Mr. Byrnes talked as though there were a wide-open choice between opportunity and security, as though men were not being driven to insist on more security precisely because they have lost so much in opportunity. With industry constantly moving toward "bigness" if not monopoly, the would-be entrepreneur is swallowed up, becomes an employee, and inevitably comes, like millions of his fellows, to think in terms of the security he must exchange for his independence—security in his job, security against accident and illness, and security in his old age. Yet the more he demands and receives this kind of security from private industry, the greater the number of small employers who are moved to merge their enterprises with larger units, thus accelerating still further the drive toward bigness. If the vicious circle is to be broken at all, it must be broken by government's providing that minimum of security which will fill a deeply felt social need and still leave the marginal employer free to compete with his more powerful competitors. But that is the very "statism" which Mr. Byrnes deplores.

The "unbridled" expenditures of the Fair Deal that bother the South Carolina statesman are designed precisely to provide a security floor of this sort. And they are a small part of the budget indeed. The entire federal housing program calls for an outlay of no more than 1½ per cent of the national expenditure. If the Presi-

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dent's public-health program goes through intact, a highly dubious hypothesis, it will be financed largely on an actuarial basis and mean little or no increase in general taxation. And even the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition is all for raising the social-security benefits. But Mr. Byrnes knows very well that our truly unbridled expenditures are not for "welfare." He conceded that the swollen budget was due primarily to defense spending and the foreign-aid program. What he might have said, more frankly, was that 34 per cent of the federal budget goes to the military alone, exclusive of foreign aid, and there was not one word in his speech to indicate that he would have it otherwise.

As for the Marshall Plan, perhaps Mr. Byrnes would have preferred desperation in Western Europe, in the first years after the war, and the swift advance of communism that would have accompanied it. But on the whole subject of communism he falls back on his most blatant fallacy and one that we are hearing increasingly from the right. This is that socialism—alias the "welfare state"—"is but a step toward communism," a "bridge . . . into a police state." Let Mr. Byrnes call the roll of Socialist states that have gone Communist and totalitarian. Was Russia a Socialist state under Czar Nicholas? Has China been Socialist under Chiang Kai-shek? Was Yugoslavia Socialist under the monarchy? On the contrary, in each instance, and in every case where the Communists are strong, the source of their power can be found in misery, fear, extremes of maldistribution, and black political reaction. What states with Socialist governments, on the other hand, have ever gone Communist? Sweden? Denmark? New Zealand? Did the Communists, eager for power, support the Socialist governments of Léon Blum in France or the present Labor government of England?

Byrnes is talking nonsense and he knows it. But he thinks it might be good demagogy. And that is what he is after, for he has abandoned hope that the trend toward the "welfare state" will be arrested by judicial process. Those who share his fears, he said, must be "realistic" and accept the "probability" that the Supreme Court will uphold such legislation under the general-welfare clause of the Constitution. Their only recourse is to "look to the people." If they have nothing better to offer than poppycock about socialism, and pleas to let the states provide a security which they have been neither able nor inclined to provide, the politicians of the Byrnes school and any leagues they may form will "look to the people" as vainly as Senator Dulles did only a month ago.

Spain: Military Liability

BY MANUEL ESTRADA

[*One of the most persuasive arguments used by American protagonists of Franco's Spain has been that of military necessity. Behind the formidable barriers of the Pyrenees, it has been said, the United States could mount an irresistible offensive against any European aggressor. Therefore we must strengthen Spain, militarily and economically. When the persistent rumors that Spain might soon be included in the Atlantic Pact were given new life during last week's meeting in Paris of the defense chiefs of the Western nations,* The Nation *turned to Colonel Manuel Estrada for an authoritative discussion of the technical-strategic argument. Colonel Estrada, a career officer in the Spanish army, played an outstanding role in the Spanish civil war as chief of staff of the Republican army during the siege of Madrid. He is now living in Mexico.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Mexico, D. F., November

TO APPRAISE the strategic value of the Iberian Peninsula to the United States and its allies we must begin with a look at the map of Europe. The map tells us that in case of a war between West and East (1) the choice of France as the main American base of operations and supply is ruled out by its accessibility to attack from the east; (2) the Iberian Peninsula is not only less open to invasion than France but also, because it is twice as far from Berlin, less vulnerable than Great Britain, and in addition could be supplied by southern routes less exposed to aerial attack; and (3) if the Balkan and Italian peninsulas were overrun in the first phase of the war, the Iberian Peninsula could play the same role in the Mediterranean that England played in the North Sea after Norway fell in 1940 and that Canada would play if Greenland were seized by the enemy.

It is clear, however, to military men that the map does not tell the whole story. Let us suppose that hostilities have broken out along a line extending from the Elbe to the Black Sea, and that the United States, as a defensive measure, has begun to fight in Europe. In this first stage of the struggle what would be the value of the Iberian Peninsula? Obviously it could be made into an arsenal and depot of supplies and a stepping-stone for the American air force on its way to the Elbe. As the map shows, it is in certain ways well suited to this purpose. But it has also some grave disadvantages.

From the very first the United States would try to compensate for its inferiority on land by its superiority

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in the air. Superior air power, however, is effective in inverse ratio to the distance between the base of operations and the targets. Far better opportunities for the exploitation of American air strength would therefore be offered by Great Britain and North Africa, which are nearer to the battle area and to the enemy's vital centers. If by virtue of this very proximity they are also harder to defend, that would make it all the more necessary to avoid any dispersal of effort. The resources of the West are not unlimited, and men and material diverted to the Iberian Peninsula would have to be subtracted from what would otherwise be sent to more valuable bases.

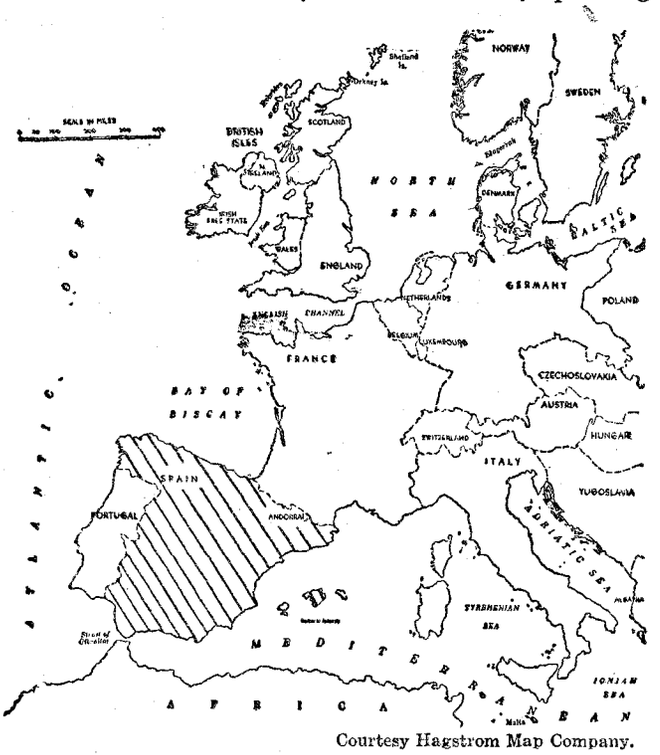
Moreover, plans for using the Iberian Peninsula as a base would be interpreted in Western Europe as indicating that the United States expected the enemy to occupy the rest of the Continent. The solidarity of the Allies would thus be injured. The diversion of American strength to a position so far in the rear would have a demoralizing effect on the nations geographically in the front line; even if the war ended in victory they would be left in ruins.

We may or may not believe that the military history of Europe demonstrates the enduring strategic value of certain positions. If we do believe this, the fact that the Iberian Peninsula was not necessary to the Allies in either the First or the Second World War is enough to convince us that it will not be necessary in the Third. If we have no such faith in history we must examine not only geography but other military factors to find what Napoleon always looked for, the enemy's weak point.

THE Iberian Peninsula is unsatisfactory as a base of supplies because of its lack of transportation. Locomotives and cars, owing to the destruction of the civil war and the nation's subsequent impoverishment, are scarce, antiquated, and out of repair. The railroads, moreover, have a different gauge from those in the rest of Europe, which means that troops and supplies would have to be transshipped at the border. Railroad equipment sent from the United States could be used nowhere else. Yet if motor transport were relied on, the interminable lines of trucks on the roads through the mountains could be hopelessly blocked by the use of atomic weapons. England and North Africa, on the other hand, have the advantage not only of being nearer to the targets of the Allied air force but of possessing numerous ports from which great fleets of ships, under the protection of an air umbrella, could carry men and supplies to threatened points.

If it is suggested that the Western Allies could use the peninsula's reserves of man-power, I will only say —limiting myself strictly to the military aspects of the question and avoiding all political reflections—that men are not inclined to fight for liberty and democracy at the command of a dictator.

The argument that the sea and air lanes between America and the Iberian Peninsula are less exposed than those farther north may be answered by pointing



Courtesy Hagstrom Map Company.

out that Allied naval and air superiority could equally protect practically all lines of communication. The route to North Africa, being still farther south, is the safest of all. One other thing: if the Allies intend to seize and keep the initiative, they will try constantly to advance their base of operations and will not want to be based in a peninsula which has very bad communications with the front and can be cut off completely by an atomic attack on the few mountain passes.

Suppose the Eastern powers should invade Western and Southern Europe. Whatever the direction of their attack, the Italian and Balkan peninsulas would be of greater value to the defenders than the Iberian. No matter what sacrifices were required, they would be held as long as possible, for only from them could the flanking counter-offensive be launched which would cut the invaders off from their base. If they should be lost, the Allies would fall back on the chain of surrounding islands—Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus. Protected by Allied naval and air superiority and supplied from North Africa, these island outposts might be maintained until the Allies were strong enough to break out from them on to the mainland. Every action designed to destroy the enemy's armies and vital centers could be carried out more efficiently from this region than from the Iberian Peninsula—even though it was necessary to make the jump across the Mediterranean.

As the enemy advanced from the Elbe he would find it easier to direct an atomic attack against the Pyrenees and

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thus prevent the Americans from receiving reinforcements from the peninsula. If he overran all France, this same method of attack would prevent the retreating American army from taking refuge behind the mountain barrier. It would have to be evacuated by sea and air, and there would be many Dunkirks. Under those circumstances the American troops should be taken, not to the Iberian coast, but to England and North Africa, where they would eventually be in a position to undertake a turning movement around the enemy's communication lines. This would be much less costly and more decisive than a frontal attack from Spain.

To sum up: the strategic value of the Iberian Peninsula is actually much less than the map would suggest. Weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, one can only conclude that the United States would not be justified in establishing a principal base there, even if it should turn out that radioactivity could not be used to block the passes.

In the last war the blitzkrieg was met by a counter-strategy of attrition, based on yielding space to gain time; the war was won by prolonging it. A blitzkrieg against the Allies today would be stopped by their air power and the atom bomb. Their strategy in another war will be determined by the necessity of winning quickly, before Europe is ruined. They must not rely on holding a line but on speed, power of maneuver, strategic surprises. The decisive place and time in which Napoleon found the key to victory must be sought in Central or Southern Europe in the early days of the war, and there must be no thought of falling back on the Iberian redoubt.

A Blow for Freedom

BY JUDITH CRIST

ANOTHER anti-subversive piece of legislation went down for the count last week when Justice Harry E. Schirick of the New York Supreme Court found the Feinberg law unconstitutional. The law, passed by the Republican-dominated 1949 legislature, provided that the Board of Regents should promulgate a list of "subversive" organizations—borrowed, if necessary, from the Attorney General's list—and that a person's membership in one of these should be prima facie evidence that he was disqualified for employment in any part of the school system. Justice Schirick declared the law unconstitutional as a bill of attainder, as an act depriving an individual of due process of law and fair trial, as contravening freedom of speech, and as applying an assumption of guilt by association. New York has thus joined Maryland and New Jersey in judicially condemning laws born of legislative hysteria. Massachusetts has still to act.

The Feinberg law was never put in force. An injunction obtained from Justice Schirick by the New York State Communist Party on September 13 prevented the Board of Regents from promulgating its list of subversive organizations—and no list, no hunting. But from the time Governor Dewey signed the bill on March 31 until Justice Schirick declared it unconstitutional on November 28, nervousness was growing inside and outside the schools. When the Board of Education of Scarsdale, New York, at its September meeting, discussed methods of implementing the law, the occasion served as a sounding-board and inspiration for a small but fanatical group of citizens to urge the banning of certain books. These ranged from Howard Fast's works to Louis Untermeyer's "Anthology of Modern American and British Poetry," which has been used in schools throughout the country since 1922. Only after a two-month struggle by an aroused public and a courageous Board of Education was Scarsdale's urge to go on a book-banning spree finally quashed.

The hesitancy and fumbling of teachers' groups, the political silence of officials, betrayed their fears. Although there are at least three reliable liberals on New York City's nine-man school board, only one, Charles J. Bensley, dared speak openly against the Feinberg law as an "ill-conceived" piece of legislation. He did this on September 15; in March, when the law was under consideration by the board, he had voted in approval. The State Commissioner of Education and many members of the Board of Regents were known to be opposed to the proposed bill from the start, but all were silent. The individual teacher knew of course that he could not with any safety speak out against a law that in the near future could be applied against him. But why did so many liberals choose to sit this one out? Because the Communist Party, by leading the fight against the Feinberg law, had put the kiss of death on all others who opposed it. Who dared ally himself with the Communists?

Fred G. Moritt, a Brooklyn Democrat and political neophite, led the minority fight against the law in the Senate; most of his fellow-Democrats joined the Republicans in supporting it. This fall, undeterred by polit-

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ical considerations, Moritt determined to carry the fight farther on the ground of the law's basic implications. He therefore volunteered to press a taxpayers' suit, to be brought by Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish educators of varied political affiliations, each of whom would first file an affidavit attesting to his non-Communist status. This turned out to be easier said than done. The Catholic in the group refused the invitation when he found that he would be allied with members of the American Labor Party. The legislative representative of the A. F. of L. Teachers' Guild, Abraham Lefkowitz, backed out because the C. I. O. Teachers' Union was participating. Moritt was left with five educators, who filed the suit as planned. Briefs *amicus curiae* were filed by the American Jewish Congress and other groups. In handing down his decision, Justice Schirick passed jointly on the suit and on the Communist Party's petition.

Meanwhile a committee of fifty-five prominent educators, clergymen, lawyers, and writers which Senator Moritt had formed was preparing to fight for repeal of the law after the first of the year if it had not been declared unconstitutional by then. Mrs. Rebecca C. Simonson, of the Teachers' Guild, resigned from this committee because "there are on the committee those who have not proved themselves to be true defenders of democracy." Fortunately, Dr. Bryn Hovde of the New School for Social Research, Richard S. Childs of the Citizens' Union, the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, and Arthur Garfield Hays had no such qualms.

The American Civil Liberties Union, the Public Education Association, and other groups also contemplated action, though little but talk emerged. The Teachers' Union in New York City obtained a restraining order against the Board of Education. This was only a gesture, since the board could not implement a law that the Regents had not defined, but it was something.

One question brought to the fore by the Feinberg law, as by the Ober law in Maryland, was whether public service is a right or a privilege. Justice Schirick did not decide the matter, but he did point out that, whichever it is, public office does not entail second-class citizenship. Requirements, he granted, must be set by the state, and for teachers these would "include not only scholastic attainment and technical skill." "The state may go further," he wrote, "and reasonably require that those whom it employs to guide its young be men and women of sound character and imbued with a love of our traditions and democratic heritage. . . . Such tests, properly applied, do not contravene the Constitution."

Implied in the decision was the reminder that membership in the Communist Party, at least for the present, is not illegal. Thus Justice Schirick tossed back to the legislature and to school officials the problem of ridding the school system of Communists. Members of the Communist Party can be excluded only if they are proved unfit for their jobs. Disqualification of a teacher for membership in an arbitrarily selected organization, the Judge said, was "guilt by association with a vengeance."

Whether the state will appeal and how the appeal will fare is still uncertain. It will be interesting to see what stand is taken by Governor Dewey, who so bravely defended the legal rights of Communists in his pre-nomination debate with Harold Stassen.

I Choose America

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

DURING the war we refugees from Europe were sort of "professionals." Victims of racial or political persecution, experts on the Nazi mind, we were in general agreement with our American environment, facing the same enemy. A refugee actor who played an S. S. man, a writer who appealed to the Germans to abandon Hitler and live, a young man who joined the army—all of us were seeking the same goal as the average native American. We were happy to be free, to be alive.

The downfall of Nazi Germany and the return of peace to Europe have changed this situation. The state of war simplifies human existence, leaves no choices. When peace comes, we remember that we are individuals with a past, with memories, with attachments, hopes and tastes of a special color which for the most part are rooted in the "old country." The technical possibility of going back where we came from creates a powerful temptation. We start dreaming of our childhood, our friends, our lost landscape and language. Some of us suddenly realize for the first time the meaning of exile, and more than ever before we feel ourselves strangers in our new country.

It becomes, for this reason, almost vitally necessary to return to Europe, and either to stay there or to change the forced decision of exile into the voluntary decision to live in America. Many have been terribly frustrated by the anonymity of refugee life; they set out to recapture fame, security, a professorship, social recogni-

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tion, social purpose; or they just want to die where they were born.

There is no way to predict the outcome for those who go back, but this is what happened to me on revisiting Europe after fourteen years of absence. When I came to America, the long sea voyage gave me the feeling of tremendous distance, of separation forever from Europe. When I went back I flew from New York to Paris. I found myself walking along the Champs Elysées with the suddenness of a dream. I visited France and England and Italy, Switzerland and Germany. I saw nothing which I had not seen before, in my earlier existence as a European.

I WAS appalled by the smallness, the crowding, and the sameness of the European scene. If the dignity of the past still colors Rome and Paris and London as it does Athens and Cairo and Jerusalem, it is the dignity of death, and everything that is alive appears confused, inefficient, stagnant. It seems incomprehensible that such an outmoded, stubbornly provincial social structure can survive for any length of time. Nothing indicates a willingness for the unification, simplification, modernization which would be the only hope for Europe. Nothing happens there; everything happens elsewhere. A few outstanding creative minds are found among the generation aged sixty to eighty. Everybody who is young and alive wants to get away—wants, usually, to go to America.

The traveler, of course, can have fun on this melancholy playground. There are pleasant traditions of cuisine and *joie de vivre*, of taking it easy, of artisan skill, of inn-keeping, and there is the immortal scenery of mountains and lakes and quaint old towns. One can revisit the monuments of a past which formed one's mind and touched one's soul. But these playful activities seem remote from real life and present a strange contrast to the intellectual unrest and intense productivity of the United States.

Politically and socially the gigantic upsurge of Western humanism which won the war has dissolved into reaction and opportunism. Power is almost everywhere in the hands of men who were Hitler's friends and collaborators in spirit or in fact. The exception is England, which in its drabness and sober realism is the only spot where Europe looks as it ought to look. There is no reason why life should go on, no vision of a new and better future. America, which provides the dollars for the business men and their stumbling governments, has failed so far to inject confidence or constructive ideas into the ailing organism of Europe.

Germany, of course, is for a former German a special problem. It is as if you came home some night and found your house demolished, all warmth and order gone, strangers sitting around and staring at you, but your father's picture still hanging on the wall and a sense of home around the hearth. You seek out your friends, you talk to them, and they are kind and close as ever. But their dark fate stands between you and them; they are unhappy and lonely beyond belief.

The children look healthy, the parents are clean and well-behaved, the ruins are cleared, the factories are busy. But a mass stupor benumbs the population, and when emotion breaks through these rigid faces, it is hate, suspicion, ignorance, endless self-pity and complaint. Only in Berlin do you meet average, normal people, with rational emotional reactions, not blindly nationalistic, not longing for the Nazi past, people with intellectual vigor. I was born in Berlin. It is unbearably mutilated, its situation is hopeless, but the people are in a more hopeful mood than those one meets anywhere else on the Continent.

Americans are hated everywhere in Europe. Their financial assistance is either not known or is interpreted as malicious and selfish. Ignorance about America is stronger than ever before among both intellectuals and common people. Everything Americans have done and everything they are planning to do is vicious. They are ill-mannered, imperialistic materialists.

I soon got homesick for America. I had become a stranger in Europe. Almost any salesman from the Middle West whom I might meet on a train, on a plane, seemed to me like a brother, like a simple, innocent brother wandering along the edge of the abyss. All the refugee myths about the European paradise were false: the food was not better, the weather not healthier. The theaters are worse than those on Broadway; there are no new painters or writers or architects of importance. I was homesick for the wide horizons of America, for the radiant light of New York, for the countryside and villages, for the factories and drugstores and highways, for the informal, undemanding kindness of the people.

Europe is in a critical situation. It can summon up no economic or political power, no biological energy, worst of all no constructive ideal, to meet the power and the dogma threatening from the East. Only the emergence of a new European conscience which would destroy frontiers, unite ailing forces, build a free and secure and just society, and remove age-old fears and anxieties, could make possible the survival of Europe. Such change must come from within, and there is not the faintest sign of it.

The fight for Europe, it seems, will be decided in the next decades here in the United States—but not by dollars, not by diplomacy. It will be decided by technical and scientific advances, by the productivity of man, by social structures convincing and workable enough to defeat frightening authoritarian concepts, by new ideas applied to a new earth. I shall like to stay here, to work here, to fight here for the rest of my years.

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What Keeps Europe Divided?

BY GEORGE SOULE

COMPETENT experts on both sides of the Atlantic calculate that the dollar gap will still be about $3 billion in 1952, when the Marshall Plan is scheduled to end. What will happen then? British and European authorities have been hoping that as the deadline approached, some new means would be devised to carry on. Meanwhile, increasing restiveness in the United States portends the reduction of aid, if not its end, even before 1952. Members of Congress who dislike both mounting budgetary deficits and high taxes note that the Marshall Plan appropriations just about equal the deficit. Not stopping to think what would happen to the American economy, and to the tax yields from it, if Europe should collapse, they rather welcome arguments for calling off the program as a bad job.

For a while the opposition said we were subsidizing British socialism, which, it incorrectly claimed, was headed straight for disaster. Then it turned its fire on Britain's refusal to devaluate the pound—until Cripps suddenly announced the devaluation. Now, prompted by statements of Paul Hoffman himself, its chief argument is that Europe, while living on our bounty, is failing to do its part by "integrating" its economy—a failure for which Britain is largely blamed. It is doubtful whether one out of a thousand who uses these arguments understands the most elementary facts about the complex problems involved.

The idea of integration is simple enough. Why not abolish all obstacles to trade and investment across European national boundaries? The United States did this when the nation was formed, and we have in consequence developed the largest unobstructed market in the world. This market is what makes possible the mass-production of such articles as automobiles, with the accompanying spectacular growth of output per man-hour. Competition across state lines in an area big enough to contain a wide array of minerals, soils, transportation routes, and climatic conditions leads to greater efficiency in the use of resources. Free movement of goods, money, and people over a vast continent forms the basis of American economic predominance. Western Europe as a whole has rich resources and climatic variations too. It contains even more people than the United States. United it could stand, whereas divided it may fall.

Suppose the American states had not, in 1789, joined together under a single government and had not forbade obstructions to interstate commerce. Suppose forty-eight sovereign national states had grown up during the past 160 years, each with its own separate currency and banking system, its own taxes, its own trade regulations and tariffs. Geographical differences in industrial and agricultural development within the United States would be more marked. Some regions would be much better off than others. Cultural and historical separatism, though not derived from so long a past as that of Europe, would be deeply rooted in the thinking of the people. The war of 1861-65 would probably have been only one of several civil wars which left a legacy of suspicion and hatred.

If in 1947 the Prime Ministers of Britain and France had told a congeries of states on this continent, after they had just fought a destructive war, that before 1952 they must unite their economies, even Americans who agreed in principle would have felt bound to point out that the difficulties of such a drastic readjustment could hardly be surmounted in five years. So great a change is nothing less than a revolution, and revolutions require heavy sacrifices. This is particularly true if the changes are forced at a rapid pace and not well planned.

THE major obstacles to European unity can be briefly indicated. Britain is not merely an important factor in European trade, it is also the center of a great currency and banking complex which extends into every other continent—the sterling area. This area uses either the pound or some currency based on the pound. The whole sterling area, like Britain itself, lacks dollars with which to pay for imports from the dollar area. Even with Marshall Plan aid it has to hoard and ration dollars and gold with great care. One of the first essentials for economic integration is a uniform currency or, lacking that, unrestricted interchange of currencies at stable rates. But this would require Britain to surrender control and rationing of dollars.

If money flowed with perfect freedom among Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the rest, the ability of Britain and the Commonwealth to buy what they need from the Western Hemisphere would be dependent on other governments and on central banks which the British and Commonwealth peoples do not control. These other governments might not succeed in stemming inflation or black markets within their own territories; they might not apply a sufficient degree of rationing; they might offer favored

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groups an opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the workers. Some of the governments in question have in fact shown a tendency to do these things. The sterling-area peoples, by surrendering their own careful and austere plans, might lose all the headway they have gained, without saving Europe as a whole. It is therefore natural for the British to contend that currency integration should not take place before the dollar shortage has been overcome, but afterward, or at the most should be a step-by-step process.

Or consider the problem of Germany. The Bonn state, if not Germany as a whole, must recover and become economically a part of Western Europe if European productivity, standards of living, and capacity to export are to increase sufficiently to overcome the dollar gap. France fears a highly industrialized Germany, because industrial capacity is a measure of military power. Moreover, resuscitated steel mills in the Ruhr can compete successfully with steel mills in France. There thus arises the economic motive to reinstate the pre-war cartel. This tendency is opposed by the United States because of its belief in competitive free enterprise, by the German Socialists, who want to nationalize the steel industry, and by the British Laborites, who have just nationalized theirs. Would it be safe to let Germany become the chief steel producer in Europe? Would not private cartelization be fully as dangerous in the military sense as competition, and restrictive of production as well? Nationalization by separate nations hardly accords with either military security or a free European economy. International socialization, which might be an answer, is not practicable as long as the German and French Socialists do not control their own governments and the United States objects. Until this problem is solved, Europe's basic industries cannot be integrated. These are merely major examples of the difficulties which impede progress toward integration like thickets of thorns. Industries which have fattened on protection do not want to meet foreign competition.

And what about the free movement of persons, which is the necessary accompaniment of the free movement of goods and money? Would the workers of the various European states be allowed to move about as the more efficient industries drive out the less efficient? If they were allowed, would they want to? Would Frenchmen go to work in Germany or Germans in France, as North Carolinians go to work in Michigan or Midwesterners in California or Florida? It would be well if they did, but such a change cannot come over night. Even in this country large readjustments of employment are painful.

Meanwhile the Economic Cooperation Administration has addressed a message to Americans about the dollar shortage. We are not doing our full part, it says, by granting Europe funds to tide it over the emergency. The dollar shortage arises from the fact that Europeans buy more from us than we buy from them. If the gap is to be closed, they must not merely produce more for themselves and for export but we must buy more.

THE recently issued report of the E. C. A. Commerce Mission shows that the dollar shortage has a long history. Even if our exports during the two world wars are disregarded, this country, between 1914 and 1948, sold abroad $52 billion more goods and services than it bought. Until World War II, Europe was able to get along, partly with the help of money lent or invested there by Americans, partly through the sale to us of gold and securities owned by Europeans. But the final blow to the precarious balance came with the recent war, when Britain and other European countries lost the earnings of foreign investments and much of the dollar income formerly obtained from sales to the United States of rubber, tin, and the like from their Far Eastern possessions. Reduced East-West trade within Europe and the collapse of Germany added to the difficulty.

Obviously the United States has an obligation to aid rather than obstruct revival of trade between Eastern and Western Europe so far as that can be done without military danger. But the chances of restoring it to the pre-war level are not very good. The difficulty of bringing Germany back into the picture has already been mentioned. We could continue subsidies indefinitely, or we could cut them off and let Europe sink. Intelligent Americans will reject both courses.

Only two alternatives are left. The first is to renew the stream of private investment in Europe which we poured out in the 1920's. But this would be merely postponing the evil day, unless by use of the sums received Europe produced more goods to sell to us, and in that way could pay the charges on the investment as the debt grew. Moreover, Europe will not be very attractive to investors until the existing difficulties are mastered. The other alternative is for Americans to buy more goods and services from Europe. Ultimately we shall have to do it, and we might as well begin now. Would this be an arduous task?

The problem would be nearly solved if we spent even as large a part of our income for European products as we did before World War II. In 1937 the E. R. P. countries sold us goods and services valued at 2 per cent of our gross national product. In 1948 this percentage was 1.2. If it had been as high as it was eleven years before, the E. R. P. nations would have earned from us two billion dollars more than they did. Put it another way: by spending in Europe in 1948 less than 1 per cent more of our total expenditure we should have supplied two-thirds of the dollars needed to close the gap now estimated for 1952.

That we failed to buy this much was not entirely our fault. European governmental restrictions on exports in-

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terfered. So did high prices for some of the products—which may be remedied by the recent devaluation and a continued increase in European productivity. Equally important, however, according to E. C. A., were restrictions imposed on this side of the water. Although the reciprocal trade agreements have reduced our tariffs, many duties remain obstructively high or even prohibitory, especially on the quality goods produced in Europe by artisans or specialty manufacturers, which we are most likely to buy. Other obstacles are created by the antiquated and inequitable procedures of the United States customs administration, which seem designed to keep goods out. And federal, state, and local "buy American" laws forbid governmental purchase of some articles made in this country if the materials come from abroad.

There are many ways in which Americans would benefit by spending more dollars for European products. Travel is one—it is now, for instance, the single most important item in the British list of exports. The number of tourists could be greatly increased if there were ships enough for the holiday season; until they can be built, off-season foreign vacations might be encouraged. Tourist trade alone would almost close the dollar gap if we traveled as freely as in the prosperous 1920's. The purchase of raw materials outside the dollar area helps too. We could import more such materials if we found more uses for natural rubber, or permitted ourselves to buy more good woolen clothing and blankets by lowering the tariff on wool. Many articles of European manufacture are all the better because they are not made by mass-production processes, and we could buy more of these, if allowed to do so, without any "integration" of Europe at all.

Before economy-minded Congressmen cut Marshall Plan aid because of a supposed failure of Europe to do its part, they should try the simple and obvious remedy of eliminating the need for American aid by doing everything in their power to increase American purchases abroad. Is it more difficult to direct to Europe another 1 per cent of our spending than to accomplish quickly the huge task of integrating the European economy? Is the sacrifice required of us in doing so comparable with the sacrifices which sudden integration would demand of many Europeans? Some small or inefficient American industries might have to compete with outside producers as well as with one another. But the total of American employment could scarcely be affected, and many consumers would get more and better things for their money. The money now given to Europe is spent for American goods by Europeans. If our trade with Europe were balanced, at a high level, Europeans would go on buying just as much from us as before, but we should get goods in exchange instead of contributing the dollars as taxpayers. As things now are, we are giving away part of our products for nothing. It should scarcely require E. C. A. urging to cause us to end that situation, not by ruining Europe, but by increasing our own satisfactions.

Chicago's Violent Armistice

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, December 1

CHICAGO celebrated Armistice Day, 1949, with an anti-Negro, anti-Semitic riot. There may have been worse racial disorders here in the past decade, but none have disgusted Chicagoans so much or made them so resolved to take preventive action.

The excitement started on November 8, when a union official invited some associates, including half a dozen Negroes, to his home for an evening meeting. He happened to live in the 5600 block of South Peoria Street in Englewood, just to the southwest of Chicago's principal Negro section. This neighborhood has a militant organization to enforce residential segregation and puts out an incendiary newspaper, the *Southtown Economist*. Englewood residents, schooled to spy on the guest lists of their neighbors, soon gathered in front of the house of this union official and told him in no uncertain terms to send the Negroes home if he wanted to continue to live there—or to continue to live at all.

On the four following evenings crowds again congregated around the house, consisting sometimes of as many as 2,000 persons. Police protection was at first nominal and at no time effective, even when an estimated 500 officers were assigned to the immediate neighborhood under the much-publicized "disaster-emergency plan." The initial anti-Negro feeling soon became anti-Semitic; Communists and University of Chicago students were also reviled. Anybody walking in an area extending over several blocks was accosted by roving bands of teen-aged hoodlums with "What parish are you from?" and unless he could prove he lived in the neighborhood, was beaten up, sometimes in the view of the police. It was repeatedly charged that the police not only refused to disperse the mobs but often openly sided with the racist hoodlums. The *Daily News* reported that a policeman explained to a

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newspaperman that one group of persons were beaten up because they were Communists. The reporter inquired how the police knew they were Communists, and the policeman replied, "Because they were Jews."

A major institution in the immediate neighborhood of the disorders is the Roman Catholic Visitation Church. Some of the meetings at which block activity was organized to keep out Negroes were held in the hall of the Holy Name Society of this parish. Despite many requests, some by liberal Catholics, neither the local parish nor Cardinal Stritch, so far as is known, has in any way condemned the violence, as Protestants throughout the city did during and after the riots in Fernwood, a predominantly Protestant section, in 1947.

Mayor Kennelly's own Commission on Human Relations, one of the most competent in the country, was not consulted either by him or by the Police Commissioner. The newspapers practically ignored the disorders, although the *Sun-Times* and the *Daily News* later carried hard-hitting editorials condemning the lack of elementary police protection. Radio gave the public some inkling of what was occurring; the small FM station WMOR broadcast a stirring documentary. Communist groups capitalized on the situation with the usual flood of half-truths and unconstructive criticism. The race-haters and City Hall, looking for a scapegoat, immediately seized on this accelerated activity of the Communists and announced that the Peoria Street affair was a Communist plot.

RACIAL antagonism in Chicago was stimulated in the war and post-war years by the immigration of some 100,000 Negroes and an estimated housing shortage of 100,000 units; bitter competition between Negroes and whites for the little housing available was inevitable. Efforts of Negroes to live outside the Negro section met varying degrees of legal and violent intimidation, culminating in the Airport Homes riots of 1946 and the Fernwood riots of 1947. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in May, 1948, that restrictive convenants were unenforceable tended to increase both the movement of Negroes into hitherto white areas and the use of violence to keep them out. In the Park Manor neighborhood at the southern end of the black belt many racial demonstrations took place last summer.

From all these disturbances civic organizations have tried to learn new methods of developing amicable group relations which they could somehow transmit to Mayor Kennelly. But the Mayor has temporized on the "living-space" issue during his entire administration. If he has instructed the police department to launch a program of training in race relations, there is little evidence that it has even begun to comply. (In fairness, it must be recorded that the police, aided by the Commission on Human Relations, did a good job last September in protecting Paul Robeson's appearances in Chicago and preventing a repetition of the Peekskill affair.) On numerous occasions the Mayor has been asked to issue an unequivocal statement that the city through its police department would back up the right of citizens to occupy property irrespective of their race, color, or creed. Not only has he refused, but by knifing the Carey ordinance—that there should be no discrimination in publicly aided housing, especially on redeveloped land—he has given comfort to those elements in Chicago who still feel that citizens should use any means to keep Negroes out of certain neighborhoods.

Personally affable and politically honest and independent, Kennelly has been a difficult man to oppose. But the Peoria Street incident has led many responsible civic leaders to realize that the time for kotowing to the Mayor has passed. The Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination, headed by Waitstill Sharp, on November 28 sent a delegation representing almost a million Chicagoans in 122 civic organizations to deliver to him what was in effect an ultimatum. They demanded that he issue a public statement reminding Chicagoans that under the laws of the nation, state, and city all people, regardless of race, religion, or national ancestry, have the right to live where they choose, to entertain guests in their homes, and to go anywhere in the city unmolested. At the same time, they said, he should announce that the police department would protect all citizens in their exercise of these rights by (1) dispersing all groups gathered around homes to express hatred based on the race, religion, national ancestry, or political beliefs of the occupants; (2) arresting all persons refusing to disperse; (3) establishing both a specially trained human-relations squad and a training program in inter-group relations for the whole police department. This delegation, headed by the Reverend Leslie T. Pennington, also urged that the Mayor, as a prominent Catholic, request Cardinal Stritch to help change the anti-Negro bias of Visitation Church.

On November 30 Mayor Kennelly issued a statement which declared that the city would enforce the law and prevent the harassment of citizens but which fell far short of the demands of the citizens' group. Many Chicagoans feel that continued improvisation in the matter of neighborhood violence may well work Mayor Kennelly's undoing, as the "school issue" caused the downfall of former Mayor Edward J. Kelly. Sober leaders believe that unless the attitude and performance of the city administration are soon changed, another Peoria Street incident and city-wide disorders are inevitable. And this in a city that can raise privately and almost overnight a million dollars for a lake-front exhibition on "Americanism."

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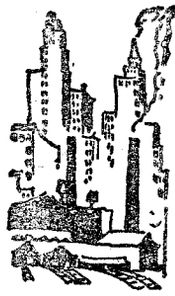

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Off the Rails, I

LAST month, when the Interstate Commerce Commission by a six-to-four decision authorized the Eastern railroads to raise passenger fares by 12½ per cent—the third increase since the war—*The Nation* was not alone in suggesting that this form of transportation was being "priced out of the market." The New York *Herald Tribune* urged consideration of such "conservative alternatives" as "continued improvement in passenger service and experimentation with fare reductions." The New York *Times* expressed the view that "the law of diminishing returns is operative to an extent that places the latest increase in the domain of speculation."

From a "Note to Editors" which I have received from the press bureau of the New York Central Lines, I gather that such comments have caused hurt feelings in some railroad executive offices. The burden of this document is that professional railroaders are not such dopes as lay critics, ignorant of the mysteries of the profession, have tried to make out. "The Eastern railroads," it asserts, "have an obligation to do everything they legitimately can to remain solvent. It is their considered judgment that the increase will not be self-defeating. In fact, the increase is essential to the continuance of good standards of service and equipment."

The claim made, then, is that this new increase in fares will help to prevent Eastern railroads from going bankrupt and will provide additional revenue for improving the quality of their "product." I must confess to some skepticism about both propositions. In spite of two previous increases in fares in the last five years, passenger revenue of the Eastern roads has declined sharply, and losses of passenger departments have increased steadily. There was, for instance, a 17 per cent boost in fares in July, 1948. Yet in the first seven months of 1949 coach travel dropped 24.1 per cent below that of the corresponding months of 1948, while parlor- and sleeping-car customers were 15.3 per cent fewer. Comparison of revenues during the same periods shows a fall of 6.9 per cent in coach receipts and one of 2.2 per cent in those earned by parlor and sleeping cars.

Now I do not want to suggest that the rise in fares was the sole cause of this decline in both passengers and revenue. The first half of 1948 saw the top of the post-war boom, while at the beginning of the present year the country encountered a *mild* recession. Again, the number of automobiles in use—perhaps the worst bugbear of railroad passenger departments—has been increasing rapidly. Even if fares had not risen, fewer people would have been wanting to go places by rail. Possibly adherence to a lower tariff would have produced still greater losses. Nevertheless, the general rule that higher prices are not the smartest retort to sales resistance would seem to hold good.

According to the *Wall Street Journal* of November 17, the Eastern roads expect that the latest advance in fares will cut passenger traffic by only 2 per cent and will bring in $37,800,000 additional revenue. They could be right; they may be approaching the rock bottom on which remains a residue of clients who will stick with them. But even if their expectations of larger receipts are fully realized, it will not be enough to banish the red ink from their passenger accounts.

So the danger of insolvency remains unless freight profits continue to be large enough to provide a subsidy for passenger losses. Clearly the situation justifies alarm on the part of railroad managers and investors. But they must not be surprised if they find their customers a mite unsympathetic. The hard fact is that from the users' point of view a bankrupt railroad may be a better proposition than one that barely contrives to stay out of receivership. Managers of companies in the second category seem usually more intent on pinching pennies than improving the service they offer. Thus a big road, which shall be nameless, has cut its terminal ticket-selling facilities to a point where an hour-long wait is not uncommon, and then has had the gall to assail the queues of would-be travelers with raucous "commercials" from loud-speakers. Whether the revenue collected from advertisers compensates for the ill-will created is a nice point for investigation by some candidate for a Ph.D. in railroad economics.

The advantage of bankruptcy to the railroad user arises partly from the fact that the journey through the wringer is apt to be prolonged. With interest payments and bond maturities suspended, the interim managers usually have some money to spend on improving equipment and service; they may even go so far as to try to make passengers more comfortable. Thus life became considerably brighter for regular travelers on the New Haven and Hartford when in the thirties that line fell into bankruptcy and out of the clutches of the Pennsylvania.

The benefits of bankruptcy often continue after the receivership is concluded. Reduced capitalization gives more elbow room to a management usually infused with new blood. Some of the best-run roads today, and the most profitable for investors, are Western lines which went broke in the thirties and have since experienced thorough reorganization.

Suggestions that over-capitalization may be among the causes of their troubles are not well received by railroaders. They retort that their capitalization is well below replacement costs, ignoring the fact that the final test of investment values in a profit-making system is the return on them. No doubt capitalization of the stagecoach companies in 1840 was well below the amount needed to replace their physical equipment, but in relation to the demand for their services it was too great. Railroads are in no immediate danger of following the stagecoaches into oblivion. They remain a vital part of our transportation system, but they have lost their monopoly and will have to adjust both their finances and their thinking to that fact. If they are prepared to do so, they can legitimately ask for changes in the laws pertaining both of them and to their competitors. I shall have more to say about that next week.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Melville: a Catholic View

MELVILLE. By Geoffrey Stone. Sheed and Ward. $4.50.

MR. STONE'S book on Melville is refreshing in at least one respect: it is written by a devout and instructed Catholic, and hence by a man who stands in a position of some intellectual detachment from Melville's work. Mr. Stone is not at the mercy of that work on its philosophical side, as some of Melville's other expounders have been; he has been under no compulsion to elevate "Moby Dick" (or "Pierre" or "The Confidence Man") to the status of a Scripture, and this has set him free to look at it as one would look at a play of Shakespeare's or a novel of Dostoevski's. He deals with Melville as an imaginative writer, not as a seer or prophet—except in the valid sense in which the two roles do sometimes draw together. "Melville's intellect," he says, "was never a superbly ordered one, moving through experience with the constant power of making subtle distinctions; he was neither the mystic nor the metaphysician he has been called; but his mind was one that at no point would arrest its own momentum and could not stop short of 'the unspeakable foundations, ribs, and very pelvis of this world,' and his genius was his ability to report his soundings as the experience of the whole man."

This is well said, and it helps to clear the air of the pious obfuscations that have long tended to collect themselves in a dense mist about the figure of Melville. Mr. Stone considers Melville primarily as—in the larger sense—a poet, deeply dependent on his own experience, the circumstances of his time, a limited education, and the special complex of Calvinist Protestantism and romantic idealism that was of course the intellectual ambience in which he had to work. It would have been easy, for example, for Mr. Stone to succumb to the temptation to read into Melville's later work, especially the long poem "Clarel," an understanding of and a bias toward Catholic theology that, at a superficial glance, do appear to be there. He quietly resists this temptation, however, and remarks of the Dominican monk's speech in Part II of "Clarel": "Certainly nothing doctrinal is involved here, and agreement with this does not make one a Catholic."

It does not indeed, and as little does it make one an orthodox Christian of any sort. Melville was and remained to the end a heretic—a heretic whose mind, to be sure, had been given its permanent hue by the almost unmodified sixteenth-century Calvinism in which he had been reared, but who had ceased to find any reassurance in the dogmas of Election and of Irresistible Grace. The sense of evil as an independent reality had grown in him to the point at which it had broken away even from Calvinist pessimism: already in "Moby Dick," and certainly later, Melville's conception of things had taken a form that, as Mr. Stone observes, is a kind of nineteenth-century romantic version of Manichaeanism. "Manichaeanism as a poetic myth," he quite justly remarks, "is everywhere congenial to the story." And as time went on, this really non-Christian dualism became the characteristic cast of Melville's most serious thought.

Naturally Mr. Stone feels the imaginative power and impressiveness of all this, embodied in Melville's work, less strongly than others of us, heretics we too, are bound to feel it; and here we can do nothing but take another line than his. I have said quite enough, however, on this "metaphysical" head; on the whole, Mr. Stone keeps these matters pretty fairly in their place and attempts to say what can be said, in the literary critical sense, for Melville's novels as fiction and his verse as verse. He is somewhat disappointing on "Moby Dick," about which he writes at hardly greater length than about "Pierre," that immeasurably inferior book, which Mr. Stone himself describes as "an artistic failure": "it does not," he says, "compel the reader to its sort of vision and it fails to create in the round." He writes interestingly about this same "Pierre," however, as he does about "Mardi" and "White-Jacket," and it is quite as much, one feels, his sense of literary distinctions as it is his intellectual detachment that saves him from overvaluing "The Confidence Man" so extremely as Richard Chase has recently done. To one reader's feeling Mr. Stone is least satisfactory on Melville's poems, both the shorter poems and the long versified novel, "Clarel." What he says about their imperfections, even their amateurishness, is true enough, but their positive qualities—and especially the extraordinary novelistic qualities of "Clarel"—are surely more remarkable than he allows.

Biographically, too, it must be confessed that Mr. Stone's book does not hold up very well; he is not very skilful at narrative, he has failed to take advantage of some not insignificant recent "discoveries," and—more serious than that—he is *au fond* too little interested in the complex and obscure relations between a man's life and his work to give himself willingly to that kind of study. He has a theologian's impatience with such merely natural and terrene matters as these, and indeed his book is chiefly valuable on other grounds—valuable for the distance it maintains, in the right sense, from its subject, and for the purely critical discriminations it succeeds in making.

NEWTON ARVIN

Fabre on Insects

THE INSECT WORLD OF J. HENRI FABRE. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead and Company. $3.50.

FABRE'S dramatic, highly personal accounts of insect behavior and of how he observed it are probably the most completely achieved specimens in any language of their particular genre. By comparison, his great predecessor, Réaumur, is almost too plain, as Maeterlinck is certainly much too fancy and too fanciful. Fabre never forgot that his business was equally to convey information and the excitement of discovering it. He dramatized not only himself and the insects but also God, nature, and

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the desire for knowledge. The result is something very nearly unique both as science and as literature.

So far as I know, there has never been a translation into English of the whole ten volumes which he published during the course of a long life, but the present volume is the best introduction to his work. It includes forty of his most exciting pieces—sometimes slightly abbreviated—plus a crisp, informative introduction by Mr. Teale, who is himself one of the best contemporary writers on similar subjects. The translation by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos excellently performs the difficult task of rendering a prose which was highly mannered despite its air of almost naive simplicity. Hence the man as well as his subject comes through.

A few scientists have found it hard to forgive Fabre the peasant stubbornness of his refusal to have anything to do with theories of evolution; some of them, in revenge, have attempted to make much of the margin of error in his observations, which seems, nevertheless, to be about as narrow as in the work of any man who ever did so much. In general, however, his reputation for accuracy seems to be almost as high as his reputation as a writer. No one who has never read him can have any idea how fascinating this kind of nature writing can be. Fabre was, among other things, one of the world's great originals, and he reveals almost as much about himself as he does about the creatures which were the object of his monomania. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

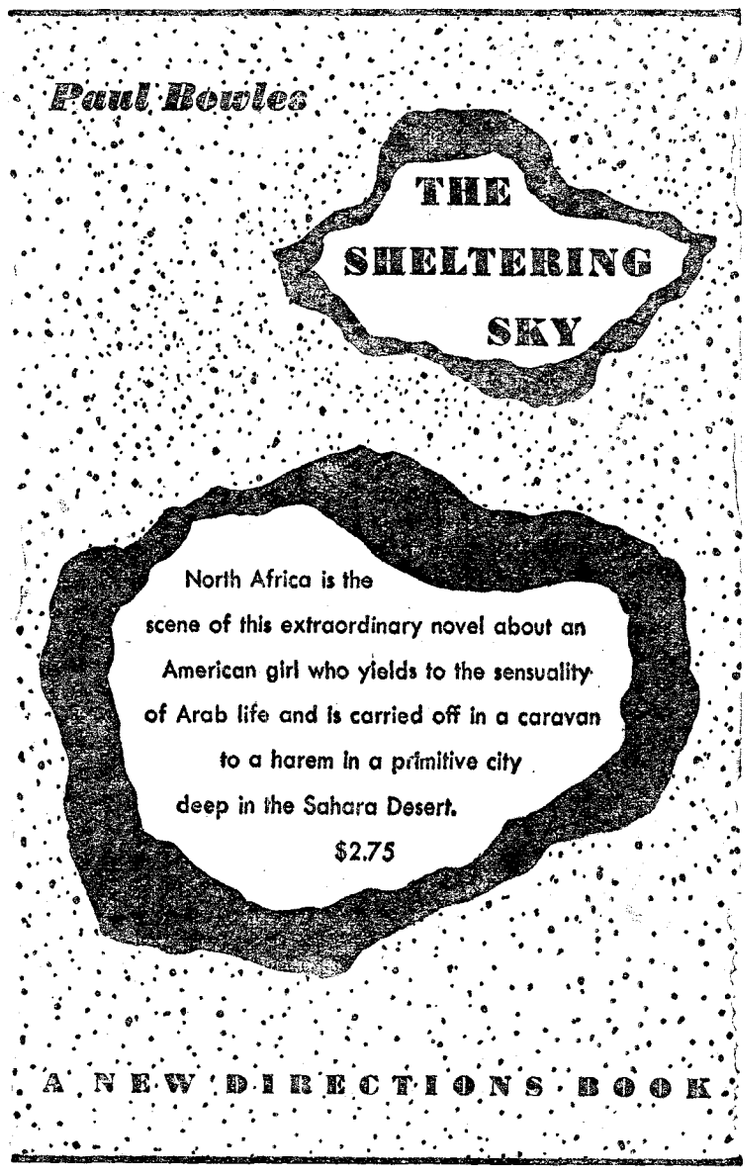
A Speculative Principle of Physics

THE UNITARY PRINCIPLE IN PHYSICS AND BIOLOGY. By Lancelot Law Whyte. Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

THIS book is addressed primarily to physicists and biologists. It proposes a universal principle in terms of which all physical and biological processes are to be included into a single pattern of explanation, so that these two sciences would be integrally unified. But the book has a more general interest. For the author believes his principle supplies a basis for breaking down the artificial dualisms which have blocked intellectual development, and also provides a fresh perspective on the relation of man and nature. In particular, Mr. Whyte thinks his "unitary principle" can be extended to cover mental and social processes, so that his present discussion constitutes the theoretical background for the views he advanced in his earlier and interesting "The Next Development of Man."

The unitary principle asserts that asymmetry in spatial organization is the source of instability, and that changes tend to be in the direction of a decrease in asymmetry. The substance of the volume is an attempt to support this claim in the findings of physical and biological inquiry. However, the principle as it now stands is almost frankly speculative, and whether it will in fact effect the intended unification is problematic—the answer to this question depends in part on whether workers in special scientific fields will find the principle suggestive and fruitful.

But if one who is not a cultivator of any of the scientific vineyards may risk an opinion, it is not likely that the unitary principle will produce a genuine integration of our knowledge or contribute significantly to the understanding of natural processes. For the principle does not assert anything which appears to be genuinely empirical in character. The empirical facts which seem to confirm it do so simply because in every process whose structure has already been determined a diminution in *some* form of asymmetry can always be found. Any process can thus be "understood" in terms of the principle only because every process whose mechanism is known can be so reinterpreted as to be in agreement with it. In brief, the principle appears to be a verbal truth, whose universal validity may simply be a consequence of appropriately chosen definitions. There is much in Mr. Whyte's book to support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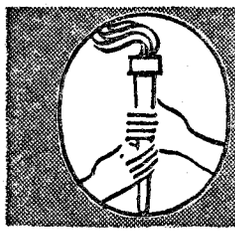

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this judgment, but one small example must suffice. He argues that when the arms of a lever are equal and the weights placed at their extremities are also equal, an "arm cannot swing either way; there would be no sufficient reason for it to do so." In point of fact, however, there are an indefinite number of asymmetries present when a lever is in equilibrium; and no general principle such as the principle of sufficient reason or the unitary principle can rule out any of them as a priori irrelevant. It is not reasoning from a universal principle but only experiment which can do this. Accordingly, if the unifications which the unitary principle may achieve are not to be specious, that principle must entail consequences which *might* be—even if they are not actually—in disagreement with the facts. The present reviewer is not convinced that the unitary principle satisfies this elementary requirement of sound scientific procedure. ERNEST NAGEL

China Shakes Herself

CHINA SHAKES THE WORLD. By Jack Belden. Harper and Brothers. $5.

LOST PEACE IN CHINA. By George Moorad. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.

NEXT STEP IN ASIA. By John K. Fairbank, Harlan Cleveland, Edwin O. Reischauer, William L. Holland. Harvard University Press. $1.50.

PERHAPS fewer copies of Jack Belden's book would be sold if he had used the somewhat narrower title, "China Shakes Herself," but the focus of the book is on the internal forces which have shaken China as it has not been shaken for centuries rather than on outside forces or the implications for the world of the rapid rise of the Chinese Communist Party. Belden depicts the tremendous power and passion of the Chinese Revolution, "the greatest by-product of World War II," and shows why Chiang and the Kuomintang have failed to stop it.

Mr. Belden has never been willing to sit comfortably at the main news centers, satisfied with official handouts and the current crop of rumors. He first traveled about China in the mid-thirties, talking to the people and learning their language. During the early

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years of the Sino-Japanese war he covered the many fronts in China proper. Later on, it was his first-hand experience in the Burma defeat and the long trek out with Vinegar Joe that formed the basis for his "Retreat with Stilwell."

His present book is an attempt to account for the rapid defeat of Chiang Kai-shek and his forces so soon after V-J Day—when Chiang seemed to be in such a strong position. Even Belden admits that the Chinese Communists themselves may well have been surprised with the speed of disintegration of the Nationalist government.

To understand the reasons for this collapse Belden felt he should not only see the Kuomintang side, but go into Communist territory. So again he took to the field and by means of slow cart rides across the North China plain reached the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan border region, the territory of the one-eyed Communist general, Liu Po-cheng. There he lived and traveled and filled his notebooks as he talked to all sorts of people. He even went on one of the raids in which a landlord was killed for his misdeeds.

A reader of "China Shakes the World" learns in detail from the words of Commissar Po Yi-po how the Chinese Communists survived the long years of famine in the early forties and the eight years of struggle against the Japanese. He is told how Professor Yang Hsiu-feng came to give up the academic life and become head of the border-region government. He learns from old Wang about the education of the people and its constant emphasis on production. No reader can possibly forget the story of Kinhua, Golden Flower, and the importance of the Women's Association in freeing her from the cruel treatment of her husband. Belden takes the reader to Speak Frankness meetings, where people confess their sins against the body politic; to Speak Bitterness meetings, where the people tell how they have been wronged; and to Struggle meetings, where wrongs have to be righted and public humiliation and even corporal punishment, sometimes most ferocious, are meted out to the guilty. The evils of feudalism are no longer abstractions; scores of vivid cases make them realities. The bulk of the book, and undoubtedly its most valuable part, is given over to these many eyewitness accounts. Here is evidence, gathered from the people rather than from interviews with the big three of the Communist Party—Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, and Chou En-lai—of the factors causing the Chinese Revolution.

Belden also deals sharply with the military and political policies of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Because of his close association with Stilwell, Belden was familiar with Chiang Kai-shek's military methods, his habit, for instance, of issuing detailed orders upon orders to his commanders, who were often thousands of miles away from his headquarters—with results that were equally disastrous in the war against the Japanese and in the 1947-49 struggle against the Communists. The mistakes in Manchuria, the folly of the drive on Yenan, the losses in the battle of Suchow are all recorded here. Some readers, while conceding the many faults of the Generalissimo, will dislike the long, bitter attacks on Chiang in Chapter 56, which is in itself a sort of Speak Bitterness meeting. But most of the attacks come from the Chinese themselves, and Chapter 56 may be a necessary antidote to some of the propa-

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ganda in favor of Chiang which has been circulated in this country by certain American apologists such as Bullitt, Luce, and company.

Belden's volume provides the best explanation available of the victory of the Chinese Communists, and it is useful as a study of the dynamic forces which produce revolution. It ends with a summary of how the revolutionary forces gained power—through the redistribution of land coupled with production drives, through encouraging women's rights, through military victories. He admits that sometimes control of the revolution slipped out of the hands of the Eighth Route Army and party cadres who tried to limit its more violent aspects; and on the question of liberties as the Western world understands them, he writes: "The Communists' main slogans—overturn, struggle, repent, reform, purify yourself, we are from one family—all of these have the purpose of creating solidarity, unity, oneness. This is social brotherhood, however; this is not individual liberty."

By contrast, "Lost Peace in China," by the late George Moorad, already seems outdated. Quick visits with military men to the big cities of China just after V-J Day were designed to yield few clues to the tremendous forces which were being generated in the countryside. Moorad's criticism of the decisions at Cairo and his statements in favor of more "benevolent" imperialism, to bring order to China as the British have done to Hongkong, sound as if they came out of the nostalgic dream of an old China hand.

Most Americans have not time to read enough about China and the Far East to reach an informed opinion on what American policy should be. The State Department supplied a wealth of information in the White Paper, "United States Relations with China," but most people will not plow through its more than a thousand pages. It is good news, therefore, that four experts have carefully summarized the problem and made concrete suggestions about what the new policy of the United States should be in a ninety-page booklet called "Next Step in Asia."

All four of the authors agree that "the revolutionary processes in Asia cannot be controlled from the outside, and yet must be dealt with." On this they agree with Belden not with Moorad. All of them urge Americans to learn from their mistakes in China, Korea, and Japan. As Professor Fairbank of Harvard summarizes the situation, "Here, then, is the challenge. The American people have the skills and technology, the cultural values and ideals, to make us the guide and friend of revolutionary Asia. Thus far we lack the will and vision to use them." He calls for the mobilization by both the government and private agencies "of American manpower to provide the specialized personnel who can develop direct and intimate contact with Asiatic realities." To him the exchange of people and ideas is all-important.

Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Holland stress the importance of economic assistance. Although the warnings of Mr. Cleveland about the limitations of capital aid, based on his experiences with UNRRA and ECA in China, are not to be taken lightly, the results of assistance to China in the post-war world, in view of the political chaos, may not have been entirely fair as a test of the ability of Asiatic countries quickly to absorb large amounts of capital equipment. William Holland, secretary-general of the Institute of Pacific Relations, suggests an economically wise but politically difficult program, the revival of Japanese trade, which he thinks would benefit the whole area. Professor Edwin Reischauer of Harvard retells the story of American difficulties in Korea, points out areas of strength and weakness in the American occupation policy in Japan, and concludes by stressing the importance of Japanese economic recovery.

The opinions of these four experts and the experience of Belden should not only provoke intelligent discussion but also be useful in molding a new American policy for the Far East.

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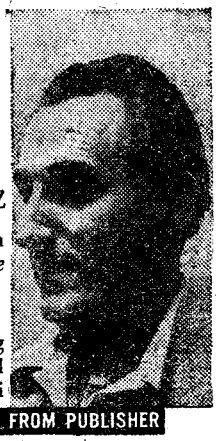

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NEWTON ARVIN will publish a critical biography of Herman Melville next spring.

EVERETT D. HAWKINS served with the OWI as Director of Information at Chungking. He is now teaching at Mount Holyoke College.

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Art

WELDON KEES

THE Whitney Museum is showing (through December 11) a large retrospective of the late Alfred Maurer's work, now buttressed by a smaller show of his at Bertha Schaefer (through December 30); and quite aside from the associations of Maurer's unhappy life, his neglect by the public, and his suicide, there is a profound sadness in the painting of this talented and sensitive American artist. If talent and sensitivity, plus an intent awareness of European modes, were sufficient to nurture a career, Maurer would have found himself as well equipped as any painter of his time. Breaking with academic and salon painting and a well-cleared road to conventional success—a jury that numbered Eakins and Homer among its members gave him the Carnegie gold medal in 1901—Maurer abandoned at an early stage his Whistler-inspired ladies and genre studies for the dangerous pathways of impressionism, fauvism, cubism, and the abstract. Along with Max Weber, whose directions he shared without the burden of Weber's coarseness and sentimentality, Maurer can fairly be called the most advanced American painter of his time. Yet how dated and fragile, fragmentary and tentative, are the majority of his paintings, how soaked with the nostalgia of assumed styles that no longer move us except through their originators. It required a degree of assertiveness and strength to limber up the strait-jacket of Paris that next to none of the American painters of Maurer's time could summon. Only a few men, such as Marin and Demuth, possessed the centrality of purpose, the personal obsession, that spared them the fate of playing endless variations from a score composed by those whose dominance and control were largely overpowering. Considering the frustrations of his life, the lack of acclaim, the many buried and bitter years, it is a double triumph that Maurer, in his best paintings, broke through, however momentarily. The doily still-lifes, especially, are unforgettable canvases.

At a time when many sculptors are having trouble with varying and extending their statements Alexander Calder, at Buchholz (through December 17), remains the most unworried and spontaneous of them all—the liberated engineer on vacation constructing for the most sophisticated playgrounds imaginable. That Sartre was moved to write of him recently is incredible; no art could be more removed from *Angst* and the self-questioning of literary men; soon, no doubt, we shall be enlivened by a piece on Dufy by Dean Inge. Among the seventeen mobiles of Calder's on view, color seems at times applied somewhat arbitrarily and often meaninglessly, but his sense of tension and balance is as resourceful as ever, particularly in the daring "More Extreme Cantilever," a seven-foot, three-legged tower that is paired off against a barely existent arrangement of wires by a long metal span, and in the pagoda-like "The Bleriot." Calder's metal objects now find themselves increasingly discovered in unexpected positions that suggest preoccupations with the human form similar to Balanchine's in choreography. Even the failures here show no sign of strain, only a guileless spontaneity out of control.

At Durand-Ruel (through December 17) an instructive show has been assembled on the idea of confronting a number of masterpieces of nineteenth- and twentieth-century painting with selected unflattering remarks on the artists by writers and art critics. Called "What They Said," the exhibition makes woefully clear the scarcely novel intelligence that art criticism is no more closed to the ignorant and foolish than are the fields of science, industry, law, government, medicine—or painting. And nothing, certainly, is more conducive to a warm rush of superiority and self-congratulation than an event such as this, with ourselves—and Delacroix, Manet, Corot, Monet, Renoir, Seurat, Van Gogh, Cézanne, Gauguin, Picasso, Degas, Matisse Rouault, and Braque—triumphant, and the "critics" exposed for the philistines and fatheads they were. (The inclusion of the remarks by Strindberg, Wilenski, and Clement Greenberg, however, seems merely crotchety and gratuitous.) That advanced work in all fields of the arts is vilified and ridiculed one acknowledges with varying degrees of annoyance, fatalism, or disgust; the garland of dispraise that forms the exhibition's catalogue necessarily gives no indication that it is in any way representative of the total criticism these artists received, though it is, God knows, common enough. As a little anthology of misjudgment, prejudice, and *arrière-garde* stupidity, it is, however, a gold mine. Valensol in *Le Petit Parisien* (1904) on Cézanne: "The procedure somewhat recalls the designs that school children make by squeezing the heads of flies between the folds of a sheet of paper." (The French, celebrated for their encouragement of the arts, are, curiously, outstanding at this sort of thing.) Roger Ballu (*Inspecteur des Beaux Arts*, 1877): "One must have seen the canvases of Cézanne and

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Monet to imagine what they are. They provoke laughter and are lamentable. They indicate the most profound ignorance of drawing, of composition, and of color." Royal Cortissoz, who, along with Thomas Craven, is a particularly rich source of hatchet work on anyone more advanced than Louis David, delivered this judgment: "Post-impressionism as a movement, as a ponderable theory, is . . . an illusion." Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., in *The Nation* (1913): "The more perverse expressions of Matisse's mode as expressed in the bulbous nudes, empty schematic decoration, and blatantly inept still-life will merely reinforce a first impression, based on their work that is relatively normal . . . it is essentially epileptic." Maurice de Vaines (1847) on Corot: "This black and mangled mass, would that be a tree? This gray slab, would that be called water? And should one sense a sky in this muddy, flattened obscurity of violet-colored dragging strokes? M. Corot does not know . . . how to see and paint."

Whether artists are any better served today—on the one hand by those critics who carry on in the tradition of the above, or on the other by the much more commonly encountered variety who merely describe, are tolerant to the point of vapidity, passionless and uncommitted—is another question.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

CAPITOL has issued a pre-war Telefunken recording of Schubert's "Trout" Quintet Opus 114 made by members of the Stross Quartet and Ludwig Jaeger, string bass, with the renowned Franz Rupp at the piano. The work is one of lesser stature, though with occasional lovely pages; the performance is better than the Schnabel-Pro Arte version: though the pianist is again superior to the strings, they play with more musical life than the Pro Arte men, and his beautiful playing is integrated with that of the strings as Schnabel's is not. The over-all sound produced by the 78 r.p.m. records (EDL-8019, 4 12") is very good, but the string bass sounds at times as though placed too far front and the piano as though too far back. A couple of sides of my copy suffer from off-center wavering of pitch, and one side from scraping noises.

Mercury has issued an LP dubbing (MG-10008) of its recording of the excellent Fine Arts Quartet performance of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet. Heard by itself the recorded sound is very good; only when one compares it with the 78 r.p.m. original does one become aware of the slight loss in depth and richness (e.g., in the sound of the cello).

One of the most regretted deletions from the RCA Victor catalogue is that of the recording of Schubert's great Trio Opus 100 performed by the Busch-Serkin Trio—with the sensitive and beautiful-sounding playing that Serkin did before he began to pound the piano to achieve bigness of scale. With that recording gone there has been need of a good replacement; but the rough, graceless performance by the Alma Trio, badly reproduced by an Allegro LP record (AL-1) does not satisfy this need.

On another Allegro record (AL-2), however, Beethoven's wonderful Sonata Opus 96 for violin and piano is well performed by Roman Totenberg and Adolph Baller and well reproduced—with equally good playing and reproduction of the Sonata Opus 12 No. 1 on the reverse side.

From London there is Dvorak's melodious "American" Quartet Opus 96, excellently played by the Griller Quartet, and well reproduced by the LP record (LLP-4), except for a slightly veiled violin sound. Filling out the second side is Mozart's Adagio and Fugue in C minor, also well played and reproduced. Another London LP record (LPS-24) offers some charming music—a Handel Sonata in A minor, Couperin's "Le Rossignol en amour," Daniel Purcell's Divisions on a Ground Bass, and pieces by earlier English composers—beautifully played on recorder and harpsichord by Carl Dolmetsch and Joseph Saxby.

And from Victor there is another performance of Chopin's uninteresting Sonata for cello and piano, played in over-impassioned style by Edmund Kurtz and Artur Balsam, and better reproduced by the 78 r.p.m. records (DM-1322, 3 12") than the recent Piatigorsky-Berkowitz performance of Columbia.

I don't enjoy Jacques Abrams's traditionally mannered performances of Chopin's Sonata Opus 58, Nocturne Opus 27 No. 2, and Polonaise-Fantaisie Opus 61 (a dull piece), on an Allegro record (AL-12); or Rudolf Firkusny's performance of Schumann's Fantasy Opus 17, with its even more violent changes of pace, on a Columbia record (ML-4238); or Arrau's casual, on-the-surface performance of Beethoven's "Waldstein" Sonata Opus 53, on another Columbia record (ML-2078). They are well reproduced—the Chopin best of all (with treble most drastically cut down).

On another Allegro record (AL-5) is Bach's Italian Concerto recorded on the harpsichord by Edith Weiss-Mann. The pace and simple style of her playing in the wonderful slow movement seem to me just right; but every now and then there is a gap in the melodic flow where a note should be. The first movement seems to me heavily pounded, and the last unclear in outline and texture.

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BOOKS OF 1949: A SELECTED LIST

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The Playground. By James Broughton. Centaur Press. $2.50.
The Oedipus Rex of Sophocles. Translated by Dudley Fitts and Robert Fitzgerald. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
Complete Poems, 1949. By Robert Frost. Holt. $6.
The Wind of Time. By Rolfe Humphries. Scribner's. $2.50.
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The Arrivistes. By Louis Simpson. Fine Editions Press. $2.
Mediaeval Latin Lyrics. Translated by Helen Waddell. Holt. $5.
Selected Poems of William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $1.50.
The Goliard Poets. Translated by George M. Whicher. New Directions. $7.50.
Collected Poems. By C. E. S. Wood. Vanguard. $5.

Under the Sun of Satan. By Georges Bernanos. Pantheon. $3.
The Christmas Tree. By Isabel Bolton. Scribner's. $2.75.
The Heat of the Day. By Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. $3.
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Wisdom and Experience. Selections from Goethe's Prose Writings. Translated and Edited by Hermann J. Weigand. Pantheon. $3.75.
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The Notebooks of Malte Laurids Brigge. By Rainer Maria Rilke. Translated by M. D. Herter Norton. Norton. $3.50.
Memoirs of Egotism. By Stendhal. Translated by Matthew and Hannah Josephson. Lear. Distributed by Crown. $3.
Eight Famous Plays. By August Strindberg. Translated by Edwin Bjorkman and N. Erichsen. Scribner's. $5.
The Spell of the Pacific. An Anthology of Its Literature. Edited by Carl Stroven and A. Grove Day. Macmillan. $6.50.
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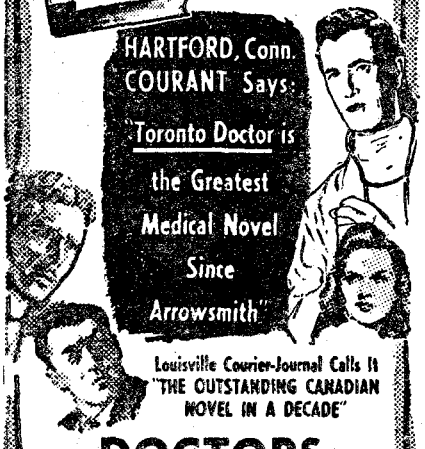

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[*The first part of this list appeared last week. The third part will appear in the next issue.*]

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Letters to the Editors

The Tocsin of Victory

Dear Sirs: Your publication [November 12] of Mankind Need Not Starve, by Earl Parker Hanson, strikes me as a very important national service. So much that has been said in an effort to refute the neo-Malthusians has been either downright illiterate or sparked by venom that perhaps more harm than good has resulted. But Hanson has handled the calamity howlers with accuracy and balance. The deadening influence on the human spirit and on national and international élan of these neo-Malthusians' preachments is much to be deprecated. Hanson sounds the tocsin of technical and political progress—and ultimate victory.

MORRIS LLEWELLYN COOKE

Washington, November 14

Good Plans and Bad

Dear Sirs: Professor Hanson's article is a refreshing commentary on the recent scare statements about the world food problem. That problem is extremely pressing and difficult but, as your author implies, for a wholly different set of reasons than these scare books suggest. And of course the programs which all people of good-will should be encouraged to support will also be different from the ones these scare books propose—although most of them have no real proposals. If the editors of *The Nation* really mean business in this field, they have a lot of work cut out for themselves.

CHARLES E. KELLOGG

Hyattsville, Ind., November 15

The Problem Remains

Dear Sirs: I was greatly disturbed by Professor Hanson's article. I fear his essay may be welcomed as ammunition by those who oppose conservation. It is quite possible that he may have been more irritated by Mr. Vogt's style and insistence than by the actual substance of his "Road to Survival." I was unable to determine from his article whether or not Professor Hanson favors birth control.

Professor Hanson finds it necessary to state that he is "for" conservation. This is confusing, for a person who really believed the world to be in *no* danger of exhausting its natural resources would have no valid reason to be a conservationist except, perhaps, aesthetic considerations. I am also puzzled by Professor Hanson's remark that even if he did think mankind was in dire straits, he would not say so lest he increase the hysteria. I happen to think that a little hysteria of this type is urgently needed, and that its result would be to stimulate creative action rather than paralyze us with fright.

I don't believe anyone today knows enough to say whether or not civilization will fail owing to a shortage of natural resources, but I do think that the most sensible view is that the possibility merits consideration. We must not dismiss the problem by saying science will save us. It is true that our productive capacity is far greater than we once believed it to be, but this does not mean that it is unlimited. This talk of unlimited resources has been heard before—as, for example, in the case of the buffalo. I object to its use now by Professor Hanson in regard to the potentialities of the sea.

Toward the end of his essay Professor Hanson seems to go far out of his way to attack Mr. Vogt. He implies that Vogt expects such people as the Chinese to react with stubborn refusal to instruction in methods of conservation and birth control. One gets the impression that Professor Hanson believes Vogt would *rather* cram this instruction down the throats of the Chinese and others than have them accept such ideas voluntarily. I think that Vogt would be delirious with joy were the Chinese to adopt the principles of birth control and conservation willingly. I also think his anticipation of great social inertia is not ill-founded; we have many examples of such inertia in our own "advanced" country. May I refer you simply to the repeated failure of attempts to legalize the dissemination of birth-control information in as cultured a state as Massachusetts? Mr. Vogt's tendency toward overstatement is easy to understand when one considers that he must penetrate a public mind desensitized by the cheapness and superficiality of advertising, the movies, and the current press.

DAN HALE

Cambridge, Mass., November 20

A Blow Against Barbarism

Dear Sirs: I should like to congratulate you and Professor Hanson for his brilliant and fearless article. As an African student in this country, I have always wondered how some people here are allowed to call themselves scientists while issuing the most fantastic, unscientific, and barbarous statements about the people of other lands. One with a particular lack of wisdom, it seems to me, is William Vogt, who consistently fails to understand that the Africans, like any other suppressed people, are struggling desperately to exist.

How in the world can Vogt say that the people of uncivilized areas like Africa must lower a birth rate which has already been lowered by disease and ignorance? To make such a suggestion is merely to advocate a modern cannibalism. As Professor Hanson has rightly said, Africans want a share of today's industrial development. It is our only goal, and by the will of the Almighty we shall reach it. We seek an educational program as our only means of survival.

If articles like Professor Hanson's were not printed, sooner or later some of Mr. Vogt's backers would want to put his unscientific program into practice, and our so-called civilization would fall into chaos and war. I believe Mr. Vogt's thinking is not unrelated to that of Adolf Hitler, and I thank you again for printing a contrary point of view.

ALIMAMY R. WURIE

Hampton, Va., November 14

The Unabashed Investigators

Dear Sirs: Your excellent account [November 12] of the vindication of Professor Melvin Rader of the University of Washington of the charges brought against him by the Canwell committee exposed the operations of this committee in one instance but did not point out the full implications of the case.

Mr. Canwell, far from acknowledging the misconduct of his committee—which claimed to possess evidence "showing conclusively" that Dr. Rader had testified before it falsely—still refused to cooperate in tracing important

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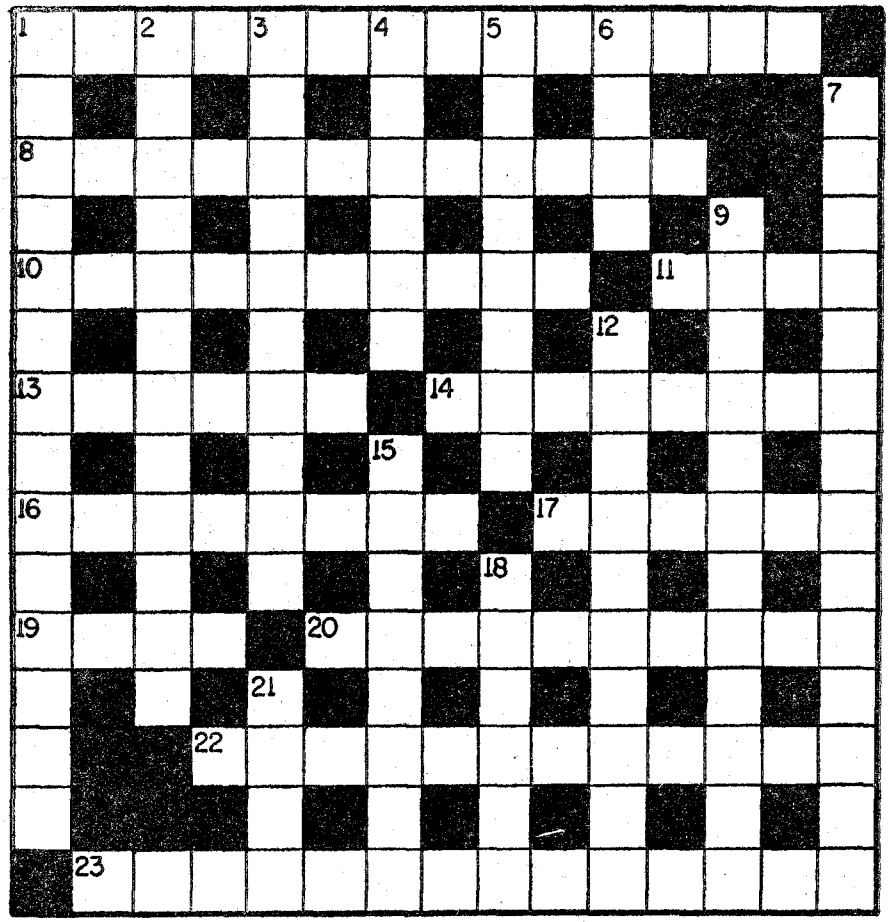
Crossword Puzzle No. 340

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Infernal? Better make it like a little devil! (6, 8)
8 Patrician old bird, before the Indians. (Sits in the chair finally.) (12)
10 Emphasized (with not enough rules?) (10)
11 A scout's is a good one. (4)
13 Be in Lubeck? How fortunate! (2, 4)
14 Showed off like the wings of old planes. (8)
16 From the land of the rising sun. (8)
17 Unusual. (6)
19. Double on the oboe. (4)
20. When it appears as the make-up of Sneezy, this makes make-up. (10)
22 They run down to Alabama, but not regularly. (12)
23 Belts where trade might be neighborly. (5, 9)

DOWN

1 Does the president keep this? (9, 5)
2 Camp tumblers? (12)
3 *Caisse Noisette.* (10)
4 Cancer is one. (6)
5 Wheel rented *en route.* (8)
6 Vies with the best when it comes to print. (4)
7 Daughters of the czar. (5, 9)
9 Ten times this ends in nothing. (12)
12 Marksmen do in the center quite often. (3, 3, 4)
15 Drama-dance? (Usually announced at home.) (4, 4)
18 How a cobbler finishes his work, (2, 4)
21 The sacred bull of Pisa. (4)

* * *

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 339

ACROSS:—1 BEAUTICIAN; 6 USER; 10 ROSTRUM; 11 GARNETS; 12 DAYLIGHT-SAVING; 14 NORTHERN; 15 CLERIC; 16 ESTHER; 18 COINCIDE; 22 CAPITAL ACCOUNT; 24 CLOTHES; 25 ITALICS; 26 DAYS; 27 PLUNDERERS.

DOWN:—1 BARN DANCES; 2 ASSAYER; 3 TURKISH DELIGHT; 4 CAMPHOR; 5 ARGOSY; 7 STERNER; 8 RUSE; 9 TRAVELING CRANE; 13 SCIENTISTS; 17 TEA-COZY; 19 ORATION; 20 INUTILE; 21 TASSEL; 23 ACID.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

records allegedly appropriated by his committee. Instead he challenged the university's President Allen: "If you think the register [the vital guest register of a Far Western summer resort where Dr. Rader insisted he had visited during the period he was accused of having attended a "Communist" school in New York] has been suppressed, go find it" (Seattle *Times,* October 22).

The testimony of the now discredited anti-Communist, George Hewitt, who with the connivance of the Canwell committee has escaped trial for perjury, was used not only against Dr. Rader but as part of the basis for the dismissal of Professor Ralph Gundlach, after twenty years' service at the university (Second Report of the Canwell Committee, pp. 251-255).

It was this same committee that inspired the investigations at the university which led to the dismissal of three professors and the placing of three others on probation, and which led President Allen in two of the cases of dismissal to recommend that the Board of Regents "hold with the minority" against the majority of his own Faculty Committee on Tenure (Record of the Tenure Cases, p. 97). Professor Rader is vindicated, but in the other six cases the decisions still stand. A Rader or a William Remington may after infinite effort clear himself of false charges brought by a committee on un-American activities, but as the University of Washington cases show, this does not end the evil that has been done.

HELEN M. LYND

Bronxville, N. Y., November 17

Nothing Mysterious

Dear Sirs: An editorial paragraph in your issue of November 19 discusses the dropping of Mark Twain's "A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" from the textbook lists of the New York City public schools. We have given the true facts about this book publicity on several occasions. It was dropped temporarily from our textbook lists at the request of the publisher because it was almost out of print. The publisher has verified this statement publicly, but those who are trying to make a case refuse to admit this. The book has been kept on our library book list and is still there, since single copies for library use are still available.

If the edition which is being used as a textbook does not become available soon again, we shall undoubtedly place some other edition on our textbook list.

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There is nothing mysterious, secret, or suspicious about the matter.

For reasons best known to themselves, there is a group which is persistently trying to create a false impression.

WILLIAM JANSEN,
Superintendent of Schools
New York, November 22

Where Credit Is Due

Dear Sirs: My attention has been called to a misstatement in my review of "The Awakening Valley" in *The Nation* of November 12. There I credited the "prose" of this book to Aníbal Buitrón, the "magnificent photographs" to John Collier, Jr. Señor Buitrón "was responsible for the ethnology, planned the general sequence of social and technical data, and directed many details of the field photography," his wife Barbara Salisbury Buitrón then translating his material into English; but the final text and its arrangement were prepared by Mr. Collier and Mary Trumbull Collier, and the "simple, vivid, and authoritative prose" which I admired was written by Mr. Collier. I am glad to have this opportunity to credit his excellent work—prose and photography both—to him.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL
Chicago, November 28

Help Wanted

Dear Sirs: Rudi Blesh, author of "Shining Trumpets: a History of Jazz," and Harriet Janis are at work on a book with the tentative title "Ragtime Days," to be published late next year. Although the authors have tracked down for personal interview many of the ragtime musicians who are still alive, they would like help in locating the relatives and friends of many who are now dead, and will welcome suggestions for finding any fine players or composers of ragtime whom they may have missed. Communications should be addressed to the authors in care of Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22. WILLIAM COLE
New York, November 15

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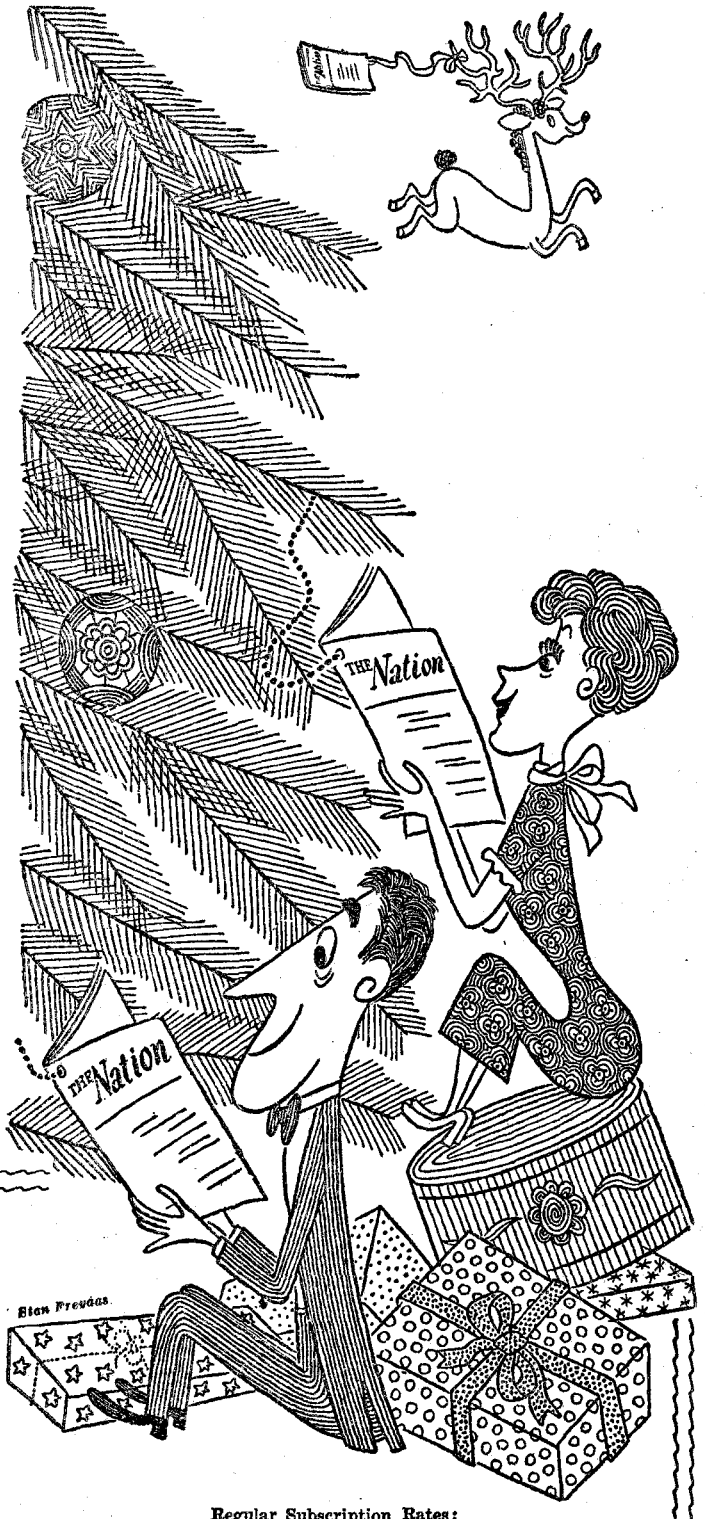

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